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## CHILEAN POLITICS, 1920-1928

The republic of Chile, which for generations prided itself upon the orderliness and stability of its parliamentary institutions, has within the past few years come under a scarcely veiled dictatorship. Popular government in many of the Hispanic-American republics can be assumed to be the camouflage for a dictatorial president or a very narrow oligarchy, but in Chile it was something of a reality, as it still is in Argentina and Uruguay. Today, as in some of the Latin states of southern Europe, democratic institutions are suffering an eclipse; and it is not improbable that events in Italy and in Spain suggested the military coup d'état at Santiago in September, 1924.

The evolution of political life in Chile which led up to and explains this coup d'état, may be traced to the presidential election of 1920, or more remotely to the civil war of 1891. That war itself was the consequence of a bitter rivalry between congress and the national executive. President Balmaceda, supported by a sector of the older liberals calling itself the Democratic Liberal Party, aimed to restore a presidential system like that of the United States. Another group of liberals, a so-called Radical Party, desired to maintain the parliamentary régime which had grown up as a sort of extra-constitutional practice, under which the ministries were responsible to congress alone, coming and going with changes in the political complexion of the chambers. Combined with the doctrinaire liberals and the conservatives, they opposed

the attempts of President Balmaceda to impose ministries of his own choosing upon the country, and his evident intention of dictating the presidential succession. The result was a deadlock between the two branches of the government, culminating in a military struggle of eight months duration. The president was defeated and eliminated, executive interference in elections ceased, and congress kept in its own hands the control of public affairs. But this unquestioned supremacy made for increasing political irresponsibility on the part of its members. Personal and factional interests were put above the national welfare, and the failure of the government to meet new problems and to keep pace with changing social and economic conditions was increasingly evident. Parliamentary impotence, therefore, so apparent in President Alessandri's administration after 1920, was no new thing. It had become sufficiently obvious in the time of his immediate predecessors.

Arturo Alessandri, an eloquent and skilful lawyer of part Italian descent, senator from the province of Tarapacá, was in 1920 the candidate of the labor and middle class interests represented in a party group called the Liberal Alliance. The coalition included also the old Radical Party which for many years had been in the opposition, and contained therefore a considerable aristocratic or *hacendado* element. Alessandri's opponent, Luis Barros Borgoño, was the candidate of the National Union, composed mainly of conservatives and liberals of the dominant political and landed aristocracy. The elections were very close, so close that in place of the normal procedure—a scrutiny of electoral returns by congress—a special board, designated the court of honor, was appointed. It decided that Alessandri had received a majority of one electoral vote. The election itself was reported to have been marked by

the general participation of the labor and middle class elements and a relatively greater freedom from the practice of buying votes than



had ever been experienced before. It was looked upon, therefore, as a distinct triumph of democratic principles.

President Alessandri had attracted popular support by his program of social and political reform. On its political side, it embraced the old Balmacedist objectives: abolition of the parliamentary system, election of the president by direct, popular vote, and greater autonomy for the provinces. His social program included an income tax or higher land taxes to permit the balancing of the budget, labor insurance, separation of church and state, extension of the free public school system, and national control of banks and insurance companies.

The elections, however, although they had changed the complexion of the lower house, left the senate under the control of the formerly dominant political groups, and bitter antagonism soon developed between the upper house and the executive. The Washington Protocol of July, 1922, made possible largely by the new president's advocacy of a speedy settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute, was vigorously opposed by the Chilean senators. And serious differences arose over the legislative program, especially in connection with the proposed income tax. This last resulted in a constitutional crisis in December, 1923, when the senate not only refused to pass the law, but forced the resignation of the Subercaseaux ministry by failing to provide funds for the government. The president refused to recognize the right of one house to remove the cabinet, and a situation was created resembling that between congress and President Balmaceda before the civil war of 1891. As the annual garrison law had not been passed, on January 1st, 1924, the Santiago garrison evacuated the city. Fearing serious consequences for the public order, the senate then passed the income tax law, but in a garbled form and practically under duress. President Alessandri meantime formed a new ministry, members of which tried to persuade the leaders of the hostile senatorial majority at least

to consider the legislative program of the president. When they refused, the president on January 7, declared the legislative session closed, by a decree countersigned by ministers who had not received the recognition of congress.

Business interests, backed by the principal newspapers of Santiago, *El Mercurio* and *La Nación*, attempted to reconcile the conflicting factions without success. Ultimately the comisión conservadora (a committee of the two chambers acting for congress in the interval between sessions) ended the crisis by means of a compromise. The senate agreed to certain political reforms demanded by the president, and in return the latter promised to appoint a ministry which would give electoral guarantees in the forthcoming congressional elections. The new legislation included an act providing that when congress failed prior to January 1 to pass the budget for the coming year, the budget was to be given preference over all other business until it was passed, and that in the meantime the president might expend each month one-twelfth of the total amount of the budget of the preceding year. In order to stabilize cabinet government, another law provided that thereafter votes of confidence were to be confined to the chamber of deputies, and that the president might dissolve the chamber once during his term of office, but the privilege must be exercised, if at all, during the first two years of his term.

Thus a serious constitutional crisis had been weathered without resort to violence. The Chilean minister in Washington stated to the press that his country had passed through a pacific revolution as remarkable as the recent accession of the labor party to power in England. But apart from matters of legislation or of constitutional reform, there was still dissatisfaction, even beyond the ranks of the conservative opposition. The government was accused of incompetence, of overworking the spoils system, of executive interference in elections, and of failure to meet adequately the financial difficulties of the country. It is true that the victory of 1920



had brought into office a group of new men lacking in political experience, but it was no less true that within congress and without there was displayed an inefficiency and a lack of public spirit which revealed little or no improvement over the days before 1920. In two years' time, congress had passed scarcely more than that number of legislative measures. Alessandri's financial difficulties, however, were not of his own making. They were due to the loss of the European nitrate market in the face of competition of German synthetic nitrates following the World War, to the economic deflation of 1921, to the losses suffered in the earthquake of 1922, and to the increase generally in the cost of government. New sources of revenue were needed, and congress showed no inclination to vote taxes, especially such as would affect the vested landed interests. The consequence was increasing deficits, and failure to pay public servants, including officers of the army and navy.

President Alessandri in his relations with the government was said to be personally honest, but his administration was accused of widespread corruption. The president's credit with the people at large, however, was extraordinary. Eloquent, not overly scrupulous, with immense personal magnetism, he made an irresistible appeal to the laboring classes. His great weakness was his inability to resist the claims of friendship or of private interest.

Such was the political situation which called forth general criticism during the year 1924, and led to the coup d'état of September 5. The new congress, chosen in March, was reported to have been elected under conditions of executive pressure such as Chile had not seen since 1891—in spite of the engagements made with the opposition in January. The result was unusual political agitation; and discussion of electoral matters occupied most of the time not only of the expiring congress, but also of the new congress, to the exclusion of urgent national problems. The opposition, however, had been

decisively routed at the polls, and the liberal alliance now controlled both chambers.

Toward the middle of August the executive sent to congress a project providing an "indemnity" for its members in the form of an annual salary of 24,000 pesos. The legislature displayed unwonted activity in the passage of this bill at a time when the salaries of government officials and "allowances" to army and navy officers were two months in arrears, when the budget of the year was still unprovided for, and a deficit impended from the year previous. On September 2, and again on the 3rd, a large number of army officers appeared in the galleries of the senate to listen to the debates, and when on the second day they gave audible signs of their approval or disapproval of the course of the argument, the vice-president of the senate ordered the galleries cleared. Meetings followed at the Club Militar, where the officers explained their point of view to the minister of war and marine; and on the 4th, General Luis Altamarino, inspector general of the army, came out unconditionally on their side, stating to a meeting of the cabinet that the entire army was behind the officers, and that any attempt to discipline them for their actions in the senate would create an unfortunate impression. That same evening, in response to an invitation of President Alessandri, three officers went to the Moneda (government house) to explain the situation to him; after which the president declared himself entirely in accord, and offered his coöperation in seeing that they were given ample satisfaction. The upshot of it all was that toward noon on September 5 a committee of officers waited upon the president and presented a program of action. They demanded the reform of the constitution, veto of the congressional salaries bill, increase of pay for the army, navy, and police, payment of the back salaries of school teachers and other public employees, and the immediate passage of the budget, labor bills, and other impending legislation. The committee then withdrew, stating that it would return at four P. M. to learn the president's reply. The cab-



inet, called into immediate session, resigned; and at four o'clock President Alessandri summoned General Altamarino, communicated to him his acceptance of the program, and intrusted to him the formation of a new cabinet.

Meantime the officers of the garrison had organized themselves as a *junta militar*, or permanent military commission, composed in the beginning of thirty members, to whose preliminary approval General Altamarino submitted early that same evening the names of his proposed government. The new cabinet, consisting of two generals, an admiral, and three civilians, proved acceptable to both the junta and President Alessandri, and was duly sworn in at 10:30 P. M.; after which from the balcony of the Moneda, President Alessandri presented General Altamarino to the crowd assembled below. Such was the so-called coup d'état of September 5, 1924. Commandants and officers of the provincial garrisons by telegraph sent in their adhesion to the garrison of the capital, and at Valparaiso, a naval and military committee was organized to coöperate with the junta in Santiago. The people at large, and especially the labor organizations, maintained an expectant attitude, and only the law students of the national university voted a formal protest against the military movement.

On September 6, General Altamarino called in the presidents of the senate and chamber of deputies, and besought their coöperation in the immediate passage of the legislation contemplated in the officers' memorial. And on the afternoon of the 7th the new ministry was formally presented to congress. The two chambers, on the demand of General Altamarino, immediately passed fourteen measures which had been pending for months. In the chamber of deputies the presiding officer simply declared the legislative program of the ministry adopted *in toto* without debate. In both chambers the public galleries were deserted, and in neither did the unionist opposition attend. The responsibility for this abject surrender on the part of the legislative branch of the govern-

ment lay with the liberal majority alone. On the other hand, in the interval between the 5th and 7th, the unionist minority had endeavored to identify itself with the army coup, but was ignored or repulsed. The new government had immediately declared itself non-partisan, and carefully avoided the appearance of associating with either side.

Late that same night (the 7th) President Alessandri called together the cabinet and handed in his resignation, with a request for permission to leave the country. The cabinet communicated the news to the junta militar, and the latter after some debate made a formal reply to be transmitted to the president, to the effect that it hoped he would not insist upon resigning, but merely ask for leave of absence. It also guaranteed his personal safety and that of members of his family. In spite of this assurance, at three in the morning the president and his family left the Moneda and sought the protection of the American embassy. The senate later rejected his resignation, but granted leave of absence, and on September 10 the president, accompanied to the frontier by the American and Argentine ambassadors, crossed the Andes to Argentina. A fortnight later he sailed from Buenos Aires for Europe.

With the elimination of Alessandri, General Altamarino, as head of the cabinet, became acting vice-president; and on the day Alessandri crossed the frontier, an executive commission (*junta de gobierno*) was created, composed of Generals Altamarino and Bennett and Admiral Neff, which in turn on September 11 issued a decree dissolving congress, and organizing a new, non-partisan and civilian cabinet presided over by a professor of constitutional law, Alcibiades Roldán. One of its first acts was to accept the resignation of the president which congress had refused.

So the bloodless revolution was carried to its logical conclusion. A temporary receivership had been established to restore the political solvency of the nation. Caused by the disgust of army officers with the politicians and their failure



to meet the urgent necessities of the country, possibly inspired by analogous happenings in Italy and Spain, in the beginning at least it probably commanded the support of public opinion in most of the country. Even some of the democratic and radical political groups acquiesced at first, tacitly admitting that a thorough housecleaning was called for. The president himself perhaps submitted to the demands of the military junta because they offered an escape from the unpopular situation created by the shortcomings of congress. Then when he discovered that he could not use the movement for his own purposes, that he was ignored by the junta and had become a mere puppet in the hands of the military chiefs, he offered his resignation, which the senate and the junta, wishing to depart no further than was essential from constitutional procedure, refused to accept. But there is some suspicion that General Altamarino desired the elimination of Alessandri, and was responsible for the president's impression that he was ignored by the junta and possibly for his sudden flight to the American embassy. The rejection of the president's resignation was probably not wholly to his liking, and it is significant that after Alessandri had left the country and congress had been dissolved, the junta de gobierno, of which Altamarino was the dominant member, reversed the senate's action. Probably the chance of playing the rôle of another Primo de Rivera was not altogether unattractive.

The provisional government introduced economies, especially by weeding out superfluous appointees in the administration and in the railway service, and by reducing the personnel of the diplomatic service abroad. But the conviction soon gained ground that it merely cloaked an attempt of the conservatives to recover control of affairs, and that what had been initiated as a strictly non-partisan and reform movement was being transformed into a unionist reaction. The general officers represented in the junta de gobierno, allied by family ties with the aristocracy, apparently had been captured by the national union. An estrangement, therefore, ensued between

the junta militar, which had achieved the revolution, and which still continued in existence, and the government to which it had delegated its power. Moreover, the cabinet neglected to take steps to convoke the constituent assembly which had been promised by the junta militar in September, while the junta on its part could not resist the temptation to try to dictate in matters of promotions and appointments. Finally, the irregularity of the provisional government's origin also told against it among Chileans proud of their country's previous record; and the general dissatisfaction found expression in demonstrations by university students and in strikes conducted by labor unions. The ultimate result was the second coup d'état of January 23, 1925.

Several episodes illustrate the situation. On November 5, for instance, representatives of the military junta called at the Moneda and presented a number of demands, some apparently having to do with promotions. The cabinet, which was sitting in an adjoining room, sent in its resignation, to which was added that of the executive junta. The officers thereupon withdrew their demands, and the cabinet remained. On the same day it issued a decree calling for national elections for president and congress in May, 1925. Embodied with it, however, was a new electoral law, which put the registration of voters in the hands of local committees for each precinct, to be appointed by the government from lists of the largest income-tax payers. Such an arrangement favored especially the conservative parties, and was scarcely calculated to improve relations between the officers and the government.

A month later, on December 9, a prominent radical leader, Pedro León Ugalde, was arrested on the charge of trying to create discontent among non-commissioned officers of the army, in order to overthrow the junta de gobierno as the military chiefs had overthrown the Alessandri régime. Two days later, Colonel Alfredo Ewing, commander of the carabineers, was relieved of his post, because of the publicity attached to



the attempt of some members of the carabineers to enter his name as a candidate for the presidency. The military junta, of which Colonel Ewing was a member, sent a sharp protest to the government; but the latter was promptly supported by the council of navy officers at Valparaiso. As both the government and the navy council announced that army officers must abstain from politics, on December 13, the junta, finding itself divested of influence, published a vote of adhesion to the government and disbanded. The cabinet on the same day resigned as a concession to the military, and to eliminate certain ministers most obnoxious to them; and with the announcement of a new cabinet on the 19th the crisis seemed to be past. The principal members of the military junta were transferred to posts abroad or to garrisons distant from Santiago.

The reorganized cabinet, although of high character and thoroughly honest, was very conservative in complexion, and this, together with the elimination of the junta militar, did not diminish the apprehensions of the younger, more radical, army officers. Matters came to a head again when on January 9, 1925, a convention of the national union proclaimed the candidacy of Ladislao Errázuriz for the presidency. Señor Errázuriz was rated as an extreme reactionary, by his social position and political connections associated with the oligarchic interests which had formerly controlled the country. With his nomination the government doubtless had nothing to do, but to the liberal elements in the country it seemed to be one more step in the frustration of the purposes of the September revolution, and it became the occasion for the second coup d'état. On the afternoon of January 23, two regiments, one of infantry and the other of cavalry, led by a group of junior officers, converged on the square in front of the Moneda, took possession of the building, and forced the junta and cabinet to resign. The authorities had received an eleventh hour warning, and stationed several hundred carabineers and mounted police in the vicinity, but they made no resistance. The rest

of the garrison and the provincial units immediately declared their adhesion. Only the navy held aloof, and protested against the forcible detention of its two representatives, Admiral Neff of the deposed junta, and Admiral Gómez Carreño, minister of marine. To the public, a proclamation was issued in the name of the garrison of the capital, explaining the reason for the coup, accusing General Altamarino of treason to the September revolution, and promising the immediate recall of the constitutional president and the convoking of a constituent assembly.

This January revolution had behind it a mixture of motives, personal and patriotic, and bound up with it were the intrigues of the followers of Alessandri. Each political party in turn had tried to use the provisional government or the army to serve its own selfish ends; it happened that the Alessandri group in January was successful. Bloodshed, however, was averted only by a narrow margin. The navy chiefs showed no sympathy with the January coup, and opposed the return of Alessandri. A conference of army and navy leaders was held in Santiago, in which was included Agustín Edwards, sent from Valparaiso in the rôle of mediator. And for several days the issue was in suspense. Finally, on January 27, the navy acquiesced in a provisional junta de gobierno to assume the executive power until Alessandri returned. A cabinet was formed, under the leadership of Armando Jaramillo, in which General Carlos Ibáñez (then comandante) first appeared as minister of war.<sup>1</sup> And the new government immediately cabled to President Alessandri in Europe inviting him to return and complete his constitutional term of office. Alessandri agreed, on condition that a civil government should be organized on non-partisan lines, and that the constitution

<sup>1</sup> It was reported that only when the garrison threatened to let loose the mob upon Santiago did the navy accept the new order of things. In the ranks of the naval officers themselves, however, there was no solidarity. Dissensions had arisen between the engineers and line officers, the former desiring an equality of rank and opportunity till then denied them; and if the navy chiefs had desired to act, they would probably have been unable to move their ships.



should be reformed by a national assembly untrammelled by previous party engagements. He arrived in Santiago on March 20, where he was received with a great popular ovation.

In the interval, the new provisional government had had a delicate situation on its hands. Rumors of a threatened conservative counter-coup caused a general strike at Valparaiso on February 13, and on the 14th a monster labor meeting at Santiago. Radical or "communist" leaders took advantage of the political uncertainty to stir up trouble, and threats were reported of violence to foreign property. On the morning of February 27 there was an attempted mutiny in one of the infantry regiments, numerous arrests followed, and thirteen members of the unionist parties implicated in the conspiracy, including several men of high social and political connections, were expelled from the country. For months indeed, after the president's return, a condition of social unrest was apparent on every hand. Fear was expressed of "communistic" outbreaks in the larger cities; and in the northern, nitrate districts such disturbances did occur. The machinery of many plants was destroyed, but the movement was sternly repressed by the minister of war, some scores of laborers were killed, and many more deported to distant parts of the republic.

Meantime a non-partisan commission had been appointed by President Alessandri to revise the constitution, in which differences arose not only as to the reforms contemplated, but also as to the method of ratification. The government wished to have the new instrument ratified by a plebiscite, so as to insure acceptance. The old political parties wanted a national convention which they planned to control, for they were opposed to the abolition of the parliamentary system, one of the principal reforms proposed. The government, supported by the army officers, had its way, and a plebiscite was held on August 30. The old parties counselled abstention, but the archbishop of Santiago, to the dismay of the conservatives, issued a pastoral letter approving the constitution, although

it separated church and state. The plebiscite drew out about forty per cent of the electoral vote, and was overwhelmingly in favor of the reform. The constitution was promulgated on September 18, to go into effect a month later.

The degree to which the military dominated this second period of Alessandri's administration seems to be a matter of opinion. Certainly the army officers controlled the government in vital decisions. Instances were the ultimatum to the president to sign the decree establishing the Central Bank and the currency reforms recommended by the Kemmerer Commission; and the speech of the inspector general of the army in the constituent commission, stating bluntly that the army would accept only a "presidential system" in the new constitution—practically an ultimatum. But in lesser matters Alessandri and his supporters, not the military, apparently ran the government. The whole period from September, 1924, to November, 1925, was an extraordinarily active one in legislation, represented by over 800 *decreto-leyes*, or laws issued by executive decree; for congress of course was temporarily eliminated from the scene. The administration of the country was radically changed, and the general level of salaries was raised for both civil and military officials, increasing the expenses of government far beyond what they had been before the September revolution. Many of these salary increases, however, occurred after Alessandri's second retirement, when Luis Barros Borgoño was provisional president; and they necessitated a considerable retrenchment under the following administration.

The constitution reformed, it was necessary to prepare for the forthcoming national election. In August, President Alessandri was urging the party leaders to hold a united convention and choose a "national" candidate to whose support all could rally. And at the end of the month he appointed these same leaders as a commission to formulate electoral laws. While these issues lay in the balance, early in September something in the way of a diversion was furnished by the



navy. A group of officers at the naval base at Talcahuano issued a demand for the resignation of the minister of marine and the director general of the navy, the transfer of the directorate to Santiago, and a reform of navy *matériel*. It represented a desire of the younger officers to replace the older, old-fashioned naval chiefs, modernize the navy in organization and equipment, and bring it into coöperation with the political reform movement sponsored by the army; also, incidentally, to remove the social distinctions between line officers and engineers. The leaders implicated were cashiered, for Alessandri supported the navy chiefs. And the result was that the president took the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales to invite England to send a naval mission, although many of the officers preferred a mission from the United States.

Meantime the approaching elections, the inability of party leaders to get together in the selection of a presidential candidate, fear of the radical tendencies displayed by labor, and increasing dissatisfaction with Alessandri's associates, caused many Chileans to urge the minister of war, Colonel Carlos Ibáñez, to offer himself as a candidate. Ibáñez had long before proved himself to be the dominant personality in the cabinet, and represented those elements in the nation which had put through and were determined to maintain the September-January revolution. He was beginning to emerge as the strong man of the moment, who had shown by his handling of the communist disturbances in the north that he could be depended upon to maintain order and the conventional social controls.

In response to a petition signed by several hundred Chileans, Colonel Ibáñez, on September 30, announced his candidacy for the presidency. He was thereupon requested to resign from the cabinet. He refused, and the cabinet resigned collectively, that is, all except Ibáñez. The latter promised to tender his resignation the next day; but that same evening, after conferences with friends within the army and out, he

wrote a note to the president refusing to resign, and demanding that the president issue no orders or decrees without his counter-signature as the only remaining cabinet officer. The situation was more curious in that when the minister of the interior, Señor Jaramillo, had published his candidacy a month earlier, he had been forced to abandon his post, largely upon Colonel Ibáñez's insistence. On the other hand, if Ibáñez was put forward to prevent Alessandri and his associates from controlling the forthcoming elections, his own refusal to resign his portfolio may easily be accounted for.

President Alessandri immediately published the letter, together with another of earlier date in which the minister of war had denounced Jaramillo for trying to remain in the government. Ibáñez remained obstinate, and the president faced a dilemma. He might either give in, and abdicate all authority and self-respect, or dismiss him and run the risk of plunging the country into civil war; for no one knew just how far the army was committed to Ibáñez's candidacy. Alessandri escaped from an impossible situation by resigning, on October 1, after appointing Luis Barros Borgoño, his opponent in the 1920 elections, minister of the interior, and therefore by constitutional practice, acting-president in his place.

Alessandri's elimination of himself from the contest caused a reaction among Ibáñez's supporters, both civil and military. Army and navy chiefs called upon him, and probably urged that under the circumstances it was only appropriate that he imitate the president's example. At any rate, Ibáñez issued a challenge to the political parties: if they would unite in the choice of a national candidate within a week, he would withdraw. To the surprise of the country, and doubtless of Ibáñez, they did so—not within a week but within two days. On Sunday, October 4, the candidacy of Emiliano Figueroa Larraín was presented to the nation. If Ibáñez expected that he would be chosen as the indispensable man of the hour he was grievously disappointed; and the parties in their haste to choose a civilian of conservative connec-



tions revealed their dislike of the army and its influence. It is not inconceivable that Alessandri by resigning hoped to leave Ibáñez as a military candidate of the older parties, and so put them in an awkward position as allies of the army. Indeed by appointing one of their own number, Señor Barros Borgoño, as acting-president and their civilian chief, he seemed to be bequeathing to them two aspirants to the presidency.

What had been so far achieved, however, was not without its attendant military scare. On Saturday night, the 3rd, two army officers, one of whom had been a military aide of Alessandri, and both of them drunk, after calling at Alessandri's house where they were turned away, tried to lead out several regiments to seize the Moneda. They were arrested, and later tried and exiled, and Alessandri and his sons were put under restraint. But the air was filled with rumor, and there was much apprehension on all sides. The diplomatic corps met to discuss the situation, and made mild representations to the authorities. After the event, Alessandri was urged to leave the country, since his presence might induce other misguided friends to try to upset the government. He refused, on the ground that it would appear to the rest of the world that Chile was still torn by revolutions and would so lower its credit abroad. But he issued a statement to the public disavowing any subversive acts against the government, and urging peace and loyal support of the authorities.

Yet the political tension continued, for Colonel Ibáñez for several days maintained an ominous silence. Then on October 6 he announced his acceptance of the Figueroa candidacy. But within a few hours he issued a manifesto to the army declaring that Figueroa was not acceptable to many elements in the country, and urging a postponement of the election until politics could be purified. The nation more than ever seemed to be upon the brink of civil war. The common sense of the Chilean people, however, and counsels of moderation, gained the upper hand. The director general of the navy,

the Arica brigade, and later the inspector general of the army declared for Figueroa; the cabinet rejected the motion for postponing the elections, and Ibáñez as minister of war himself addressed a note to the army to that effect.

Just to what extent the military establishment was behind these confused events of September and October 1925 is a matter of conjecture. To speak of the army as being for this or against that would be misleading, for among the officers must have been representatives of every shade of political opinion; and the rank and file, as usually happens in such cases, followed the persuasions of its immediate leaders. Nevertheless it seems clear that a respectable number, if not the majority, of the active-minded younger officers were discontented with President Alessandri's political allies, and with the failure of the parties to unite upon a strong, acceptable candidate for the presidency. They wanted a man free from association with the discredited party leaders, and prepared to carry out faithfully the program of the revolution. They did not desire to impose a candidate upon the nation, nor did probably a majority favor a military president. Indeed there was considerable jealousy in the infantry and artillery services of Ibáñez as a cavalry officer. However, if the parties failed to choose a suitable candidate, the army would do so, and its candidate would inevitably be Ibáñez. Barros Borgoño was unacceptable because of his oligarchic connections; Figueroa Larrain was finally acquiesced in, though with doubts and misgiving.

That the army was not united was revealed by another attempted military coup on October 18, just one week before the elections. The officers of three infantry regiments in Santiago demanded the resignation of the minister of war, and the withdrawal of all army officers from civilian posts. The movement was squelched in its inception. Some twenty-five officers were arrested, and the commands of two of the regiments were changed. But the country seemed once more just to have escaped a military struggle and possible bloodshed.



A week following the announcement of Figueroa's candidacy, an opposition candidate appeared in the person of Dr. José Salas, minister of hygiene. His nomination had been urged by labor elements at the time when Figueroa was chosen by the united party leaders. And he seems to have had the support of some military men who were irritated at the rejection of Ibáñez, and to serve their own interests wanted a continuation of military control. It was a question whether Ibáñez and his supporters might not formally declare in favor of Salas, whom they could probably control in office. If he were elected, moreover, it could be made to appear that Ibáñez was right when he declared that the nation did not approve the Figueroa candidacy.

The general election came off on October 25, the first under the revised constitution, and Figueroa emerged as victor with a large majority, receiving over seventy per cent of the votes cast. The defeat of the labor candidate occasioned a general strike in Santiago for two days following, and there were some disorders intended to prove that conditions of public insecurity warranted the annulment of the election. But the cabinet refused to be intimidated, and another crisis was safely weathered. The new president was inaugurated on December 23.

Figueroa Larrain was accepted as the "national candidate", but in reality he was a member of the old order of things, associated with the oligarchy and the vested political interests. He was possessed of a charming personality, well intentioned, a scholar, and a gentleman; but he really did not understand the significance of the recent constitutional changes which had swept him into office. Although by law the cabinet was now presidential and not parliamentary, and the president was the formulator of executive policy, the minister of the interior continued as formerly to act as premier, and to secure the passage of measures through congress by the manipulations characteristic of former times. During the first year of Figueroa's administration, this portfolio was

held by Maximiliano Ibáñez (not a relative of the minister of war), and it was during his tenure that political conditions were allowed to slip back again to a situation bordering on anarchy. The two chambers, in order to reassert their control over the executive, refused to pass a budget, or any remedial legislation. While deficits continued to mount, the old factions devoted their time to intrigues to restore their own supremacy, in spite of the constitution. This in turn gave excuse for radical, subversive propaganda among the laboring classes, and for a revival of discontent among the junior officers in the army. There appeared even to be danger of an attempted socialist revolution, through a combination of labor, which was not well organized, and radically inclined military men, urged on or led possibly by politicians like Salas, who would use the movement to further their own selfish ambitions.

Finally about the middle of November, 1926, General Ibáñez, still minister of war, went to the president, it is said, and declared that political drifting must cease, and more "punch" be put into the direction of affairs. The consequence was a bitter debate, at a subsequent cabinet meeting, between the two Ibáñez; and several days later, on November 18, after a vain effort to maintain his ascendancy, the "premier", Maximiliano, resigned.<sup>2</sup> After several others had declined, Manuel Rivas Vicuña finally succeeded in getting together a ministry of the old style, by bargaining with various political groups and giving to each a satisfactory representation.

The new government was fairly successful with congress. It secured the passage of the budget, a ten to fifteen per cent decrease in government salaries made necessary by the wholesale increases in Barros Borgoño's time, and some new taxes affecting chiefly foreign corporations. These included an ex-

<sup>2</sup> It was reported that the other members of the cabinet at first refused to retire unless the minister of war did so too; and that finally all except General Ibáñez signed a joint resignation for presentation to the president, the general sending in his resignation individually. He was then invited to form a new cabinet, but refused, declaring, it is said, that it would seem to represent army control, and that the government must remain civilian.



port tax on iron ore, and an increase of the income tax from six to twelve per cent on all firms employing more than 3,000 men. This latter in reality was discriminatory, but the government needed the money, and in spite of protests and lengthy negotiations the new schedule is in force today. Rivas Vicuña also succeeded in obtaining the passage of Law 4113, which gave the president full power for one year to reorganize all departments of the government in the interest of efficiency and economy, and which proved of extraordinary usefulness to Rivas Vicuña's successor.

Rivas Vicuña's control of affairs, however, was of short duration. It is believed that he was intriguing with navy leaders to eliminate Ibáñez and army influence from the government, and so complete the restoration of the old order. At any rate, early in February, 1927, the minister of war denounced the intrigue to President Figueroa. Informed that he must take the responsibility for forming a new government, Ibáñez accepted. A day or two later Rivas Vicuña resigned.

Ibáñez chose a wholly new cabinet, and ordered the deportation of Rivas Vicuña, of Rafael Gumucio, director of the conservative newspaper, *Diario Ilustrado*, and of several leaders of the socialist element in congress. Alessandri, it seems, was at first included, but he refused to go, and the order was rescinded. Ibáñez probably was still afraid of his influence with the masses, and waited for a more auspicious occasion. Some scores of radicals were likewise arrested, in centers of agitation like Coronel (coal mining district), San Antonio, and the nitrate region, and transported to Mas a Fuera, one of the Juan Fernández Islands. The navy situation was cleared up by the retirement of most of the old admirals and the promotion of younger men, and at the same time engineers and line officers were put on a parity. In succeeding months other political leaders were told to leave the country, but with one exception the only "forcible" deportations were those of February and March, 1927.

So far Ibáñez, as head of the cabinet, was in no way different from his predecessors in ignoring the spirit of the constitution, while in form acting through the president of the republic. Indeed in forcing the president's hand he had gone farther than either of them. What the new situation meant was that Carlos Ibáñez was now in reality the chief of state, and Figueroa a figurehead. The theory was made to fit the facts when early in April a decree appeared granting the president two months' leave of absence on account of ill health, and Ibáñez as minister of the interior assumed the duties of president in the interval. What actually induced the crisis was the president's refusal to sign a decree dismissing his brother, Javier Figueroa, from the presidency of the supreme court. In the previous month eighteen judges, including five members of the court of appeals, had been summarily dismissed, with no explanations offered, and the chief justice and some of his fellow justices had assumed an intransigent attitude. President Figueroa had scarcely departed from the capital when an order removing the chief justice was issued.

This radical procedure was probably necessary in order to introduce much needed judicial reforms and to purify the bench. Family and personal influences had till then reigned supreme in the disposition of judicial cases, and Ibáñez was determined to eliminate them as an essential antecedent to the political reorganization of the state. The situation had recently been brought to public attention by the Ugarte scandal. Ignacio Ugarte had been head of the government printing office, when in September, 1925, it was destroyed by fire, with all its records. Later, in July, 1926, through the failure of a brokerage house, it was discovered that Ugarte had lost some 800,000 pesos in speculations. After an official investigation, two members of the board brought in a report accusing him of having used government funds, the third member because of family pressure refusing to sign. Judicial proceedings were instituted against the accused, but the court consistently neglected to take any action, until, when Ibáñez came into



power in February, 1927, he ordered both Ugarte and the judge deported. The former had got no farther than Arica, however, when he was ordered back and the case was reopened under another judge, who found ten or twelve well established charges against him, including the firing of the printing office to cover his defalcations.

The final step in the rise of General Ibáñez to the political control of Chile was implicit in the logic of previous events. On May 4, 1927, less than a month after President Figueroa's retirement from the Moneda, his resignation from the chief magistracy of the republic was announced. General Ibáñez was immediately presented to the people as the national candidate, and in the elections held on Sunday, May 22, he polled 220,000 of the 230,000 votes recorded. The election was really a disguised national plebiscite, called to confirm the ascent of Ibáñez to the plenitude of power; and so he interpreted it, as a mandate from the nation to continue his task of political and economic reform. He was formerly inaugurated as president on July 21.

When Ibáñez succeeded Rivas Vicuña as premier in February, he had made a clean sweep of the ministry of finance and introduced an entirely new personnel. Virtually all of the latter were engineers, as contrasted with the lawyer element which previously monopolized such offices. They were inexperienced, but under the guidance of the minister of finance, Pablo Ramírez, who till recently occupied that post, they have proved to be an honest, intelligent, and progressive group of men. Most of them were drawn from the railway administration, which since 1914 has been independent of politics, and has had time, therefore, to build up an efficient organization. Some defalcations were found, especially in the collection of internal revenues, and when the former chief was threatened with arrest he committed suicide. Under the new régime, in one year, 1927-1928, a large annual deficit was turned into a small surplus—largely by imposing honesty in the collections of revenues, by decreasing personnel, and by

offering salaries to the heads of departments sufficiently attractive to meet the competition of commercial enterprises. At the same time, the fiscal organization was modernized, new methods of accounting were introduced, and the office of comptroller general created. Gradually a similar purging has been made of the other ministries, where the shortcomings were incompetence, "dead wood", rather than outright dishonesty. In the entire government administration, the personnel was reduced by some 4,000, to about 30,000 men.

President Ibáñez has been in a very real sense the head of the state. Congress has obediently followed his dictates, and if on occasion a member has raised his voice in protest, he has been promptly put in his place by intimations of official displeasure obviously meant to be heeded. Sometimes one of the larger luminaries in the political firmament has been requested to leave the country if he proved wholly unable to reconcile himself to the new order. This happened in 1927 to Agustín Edwards, later to ex-President Alessandri, and to Pedro Torres, manager of the Banco de Chile. Episodes might be cited, did space permit, like those involving Dr. José Salas and Captain Alejandro Lazo, which have served to increase the prestige of General Ibáñez with the conservative classes. They showed, in the one case, that the president is master in his own house, in the other that his government is independent of military influences.

Such is the story, so far as it can be known today, of the curious revolution, or series of bloodless revolutions, which between 1924 and 1927 swept away the old parliamentarism of Chile, with its attendant evils of personalism, petty faction, corruption in elections, and increasing economic and social disorder, and achieved the benevolent despotism of General Ibáñez. The ineffectiveness of congress, its lack of public spirit, had been an increasingly obvious phenomenon before Alessandri's victory of 1920. It coincided with the absolute supremacy of congress in the government of the country that followed the Balmacedist War of 1891, and it culminated in

the administration of that liberal alliance which in 1920 was elected to cure its resultant ills. But it was also a reflection of deep-seated social changes which were slowly taking place in Chile. The industrialization of the cities, and the appearance of a proletariat uninfluenced by the old relationship of patron and client, but exposed to the social teachings of radical labor leaders from Europe; the increasing absenteeism of landowners in Santiago and Paris, with the concurrent weakening of the old patriarchal ties in the country; the growing importance of the new middle class which was without the traditions of the old aristocracy; these were both the explanation of the evil conditions which caused the coup d'état of September, 1924, and the excuse for the measures of social and political regeneration which have accompanied the new régime.

Much was said, and believed at the time, about the social radicalism of younger army officers who in the second coup d'état of January, 1925, and behind the figure of Carlos Ibáñez in 1926 and 1927, insured the achievement of the revolutionary aims. If socialistic teachings had made headway among them, it did not constitute a real danger to the state. But there was a danger that young officers, seeing how easily the government could be overturned without bloodshed, might be prompted by personal ambition, or by the desire to obtain quick promotion through several grades, to attempt the same thing themselves.

Between Chile and the danger of militarization has stood the figure of Carlos Ibáñez. As premier and as president he has consistently aimed to keep the government a civilian government, although when he first came into power he knew of few in the ruling class whom he could wholly trust, and had to begin with new and untried men. An extensive program of economic rehabilitation inaugurated over three years ago has been pushed steadily forward. Gradually the conservative classes have come to see that he is giving Chile an honest and efficient administration such as it had scarcely known before, that he has put the country through a purging, which may



have restricted political liberties for the time being, but which were necessary to save the nation from disaster. And some of those associated with the old order have begun to coöperate with him. For the revolution was really a popular revolution, although its instrument was the army. Carlos Ibáñez would not have been able to seize in the way he did the power he now wields if the nation had not approved and stood tacitly behind him.

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## THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT MEXICO CITY

### I

The first International American Conference, held in Washington from 1889 to 1890, had not been long adjourned before President Harrison called the delegates' recommendation to the attention of congress. In a special message he submitted the several proposals requesting that they be given careful consideration, and at the same time he added his own opinions somewhat at length. As a result, by the date of his second annual message of December 1, 1890, all of the recommendations had been laid before congress.

This body, immersed in a discussion of the McKinley Tariff, was much slower in its actions than the president. On December 15, 1890, a concurrent resolution was agreed to providing for the printing of 10,000 copies of the report of the committee and of the discussions of the conference.<sup>1</sup> Provision was also made to have the United States represented by three commissioners at the sessions held in Washington of the International Railway Commission, created by the First Conference.<sup>2</sup> During the Fifty Second Congress an attempt was made to provide for a Pan American Naval and Military Institute but nothing resulted.<sup>3</sup> On May 31, 1892, a petition from the American Medical Association of Cincinnati was introduced into the senate asking that a joint resolution be passed authorizing the president to invite the governments of

<sup>1</sup> *Congressional Record*, 51st Cong., 2d Sess. XXII., pt. 1, p. 481.

<sup>2</sup> There were nineteen sessions held from December 4, 1890 to January 21, 1891. Very elaborate surveys were made by this body and printed in a report consisting of eight volumes, Washington 1895-1898. See *Congressional Record*, 52d Cong. 1st Sess. XXIII. 138, 810; 53d Cong. 2d Sess. XXVI. 3; 56th Cong. 1st Sess. XXXIII. 602-720.

<sup>3</sup> See *House Bill*, 8047, 52d Cong. 1st Sess.

America to meet in a Pan American Medical Congress.<sup>4</sup> On July 31, 1894, a petition calling for the holding of a Pan American financial conference was introduced into the senate, but nothing, however, came of this.<sup>5</sup> On December 24, 1895, Mr. Allen introduced into the senate a resolution for the purpose of establishing a "Pan American Union" to promote commercial and industrial welfare and to secure the American republic from European encroachment.<sup>6</sup> On June 2, 1896, a resolution was introduced into the house for the purpose of instructing the president to recommend the consideration of measures of arbitration to the several American governments.<sup>7</sup> On July 7, 1898, a bill was introduced into the house for the purpose of incorporating a national American bank, but it was laid over until December 15, 1898, when it was discussed at length. The next day the bill was debated but not passed.<sup>8</sup> In July, 1898, congress approved a bill providing for a Pan American exposition, which opened on May 1, 1901, at Buffalo, New York.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This body convened in Washington from September 5 to 8, 1893. All of the American states and Hawaii were represented. *Congressional Record*, 52d Cong. 1st Sess. XXIII. 4841. See *Sen. Report*, 76 and *House Resolution*, 133, *ibid.* The act of July, 1892, made provision for this congress and the appropriation of \$50,000 was provided for by an act of March 3, 1893 (*Statutes at Large*, XXVII. 398, 591). Provision was made for printing the reports of this meeting on April 5, 1894. *Congressional Record*, XXVI., pt. 4, p. 3463, 53d Cong. 2d Sess.

<sup>5</sup> *Congressional Record*, XXVI., pt. 8, p. 801, 53d Cong. 2d Sess. Attempts were also made during 1892-97 to convene a monetary conference of European states as well. See *Statutes at Large*, XXVII., 52d Cong. 1st Sess., p. 342; XXVIII., 53d Cong. 3 Sess., p. 962; XXIX., 54th Cong. 2d Sess., p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Congressional Record*, XXVIII., pt. 1, 54th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 294, 413, 432. Nothing came of the matter.

<sup>7</sup> *Congressional Record*, XXVIII., pt. 7, 54th Cong. 1st Sess., p. 6024.

<sup>8</sup> *Congressional Record*, 55th Cong. 3d Sess. XXXII. 32, 33, 197-198, 220-244, 248-265. See also *House Bill*, 10807 of 55th Cong. 3d Sess.; *House Bill*, 11159, 51st Cong. 2d Sess.; *Sen. Bill*, 303 and *House Bill*, 875, 54th Cong. 1st Sess.; *House Bill*, 875, 54th Cong. 1st Sess.; *House Bill* 875, 54th Cong. 2d Sess.; *Sen. Bill*, 753, 55th Cong. 1st Sess.; and *Sen. Bill*, 3414 and *House Bills*, 7204, 7341, 10807, 55th Cong. 2d Sess.

<sup>9</sup> The bill for this was approved by the United States congress July 8, 1898. *Statutes at Large*, XXX. 753. See also *Congressional Record*, 55th Cong. 2d Sess.



## II

The First International Conference of American States had made no definite provision for the calling of a subsequent congress,<sup>10</sup> though it had provided "that the International Bureau of American Republics should be conducted for ten years, under the plan then adopted". This was regarded by many as an implication that at about the expiration of that period another conference would be held.<sup>11</sup>

The first official action looking to the assembly of the second conference was that taken by President McKinley, who in his annual message to congress of December 5, 1899, said:

In view of the . . . numerous questions of general interest and common benefit to all of the Republics of America some of which were considered by the First International American Conference, but not finally settled, and others which have since then grown into importance, it would seem expedient that the various republics constituting the Union should be invited to hold, at an early date, another conference in the capitol of one of the countries other than the United States which has already enjoyed this honor.<sup>12</sup>

XXXI. 3242; 56th Cong. 2d Sess., XXXIV. 2051, 2249; 56th Cong. 1st Sess. XXXIII. 3465. In the summer of 1896, an attempt was made to assemble the American nations in a second conference in Mexico City. It appeared that the object of this body was the discussion of the scope and meaning of the Monroe Doctrine. The conference was to assemble on August 10, 1896, but when the day arrived there appeared only the delegates from Mexico, Venezuela, and from each of the states of Central America. Because of such a small attendance the meeting was adjourned. The United States minister at Mexico City was instructed by wire to attend the conference. But nothing, of course, came of the affair. (See John Bassett Moore, *Digest of International Law*, House Doc., 551, VI. 602, 56th Cong. 2d Sess.) During the interim between the first and second conferences a number of diplomatic episodes occurred which should be kept in mind as affecting public opinion in Hispanic America, and consequently the attitude of the Hispanic American governments toward the Pan American congress movement. Among these incidents were the United States interference in the British-Venezuelan boundary dispute, the strained relations with Chile as illustrated in the *Itata* and *Baltimore* incidents, and United States intervention in Cuba and the resulting war with Spain.

<sup>10</sup> See *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 232 pt. 1, 51st Cong. 1st Sess.

<sup>11</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong., 1st Sess.

<sup>12</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the President* (1913), VIII. 6382.

Pursuant to this suggestion, Secretary of State John Hay consulted with the diplomatic representatives of the states of the Hispanic America at Washington, and on February 8, 1900, sent to them an official communication calling attention to the statement in the president's last annual message and asking that the same be transmitted to the Hispanic American governments in order that some initial step might be taken in calling a conference.<sup>13</sup>

Shortly afterward the matter was taken up by the executive committee of the International Bureau of American Republics, and on the 14th of April, 1900, the diplomatic representatives of the Hispanic American states accredited at Washington assembled with the senior member of the executive committee, Señor Calvo of Costa Rica, presiding. The states participating in the meeting were Mexico, Colombia, Guatemala, Haiti, Brazil, Nicaragua, Chile, Venezuela, and Paraguay. The chairman stated that the executive committee at its last meeting had decided to assemble the representatives of Hispanic America in order to discuss plans for the holding of a Second International American Conference. It was further stated that Secretary of State Hay, who was *ex-officio* member of the executive committee, desired that some country besides the United States should take the initiative in the matter of convening a congress so that it would not appear as though the United States were the most prominent figure in the arrangements. However, Secretary Hay wanted it understood that the United States did not desire to shrink from doing its share in the realization of the project. It seemed rather generally understood that Mexico City would be the next meeting place of the conference.<sup>14</sup> The main point to be decided, however, was what step the United States department of

<sup>13</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 4, 27, 28.

<sup>14</sup> Shortly after President McKinley's annual message of December 5, 1899, Secretary of State Hay, "in conversation with the Mexican Ambassador . . . informed him that it would give the government of the United States much pleasure if the City of Mexico should be selected as the place of meeting" of the next conference. *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., p. 4.

state should take in communicating a suitable program to the government which was to issue the invitation. This resulted in a brief discussion which ended by the Mexican ambassador to the United States, Señor Azpiroz, suggesting that the executive committee of the International Union of American Republics take up the matter of the program and report to the diplomatic representatives as soon as possible. This was agreed to and the meeting adjourned.<sup>15</sup>

The next step came on May 23, when the executive committee met at the Bureau of American Republics by call of Señor Calvo of Costa Rica, who again presided. The two other members present were Señor Orriago of Guatemala and Señor Wilde of Argentina. As a consequence of this meeting a tentative program was drawn up and approved as follows:

- I. Points studied by the previous conference which the new conference may decide to reconsider.
- II. Arbitration.
- III. International Court of Claims.
- IV. Means of protection to industry, agriculture, and commerce. Development of Communications between countries of the Union. Consular regulations. Port and Custom House regulations. Statutes.
- V. Reorganization of the International Bureau of the American Republics.

To this was added the program of the First Conference, which the executive committee considered all-embracing, "with the object of facilitating the study" of the above items.<sup>16</sup>

As a result of the meeting of May 23, the director general of the Bureau of American Republics, W. W. Rockhill, trans-

<sup>15</sup> John V. Noel, *History of the Second Pan American Congress*, 1902, pp. 19-20. Two days after this meeting, on April 16, 1900, the president asked congress for an appropriation of \$25,000 in order that the United States might be represented at a conference of American states. See *Congressional Record*, XXXIII. 56th Cong. 1st Sess., p. 4211. A bill with such provisions was passed by congress, June 6, 1900 (*Statutes at Large*, XXXI. 637).

<sup>16</sup> *Second International American Conference* (Mexico 1902), pp. 4-6. This will be hereafter referred to as *S. I. A. C.*



mitted on May 26, to the Hispanic American representatives at Washington the projected tentative program for the purpose of having it submitted to their respective governments for consideration and suggestions.<sup>17</sup>

On June 13, the secretary of state convened a general meeting of the Hispanic American diplomatic representatives at Washington, at which time it was decided by a majority that the coming conference should definitely be held in Mexico City.<sup>18</sup> In order to determine the time of meeting, the Mexican ambassador, seconded by the minister from Guatemala, proposed that such a question be decided by joint action of the governments of Mexico and the United States. To this all agreed.<sup>19</sup>

Finally on August 15, the Mexican government through its secretary of foreign affairs, Ignacio Mariscal, sent to the several American states a note of invitation to a Pan American Conference to be held in Mexico City beginning October 22, 1901. With the invitation went a copy of the tentative program together with the program, committee lists, and resolutions of the First Conference.<sup>20</sup>

The first note of acceptance in answer to this invitation was from Guatemala dated September 11, 1900, while the last to be received was from Ecuador under date of October 7, 1901.<sup>21</sup> Several of the states made extended replies.

### III

While several of the governments quickly accepted the invitation and with it the tentative program, others delayed for

<sup>17</sup> Noel, p. 21.

<sup>18</sup> The Argentina and Peruvian representatives voted for Buenos Aires as the seat of the next conference (Noel, p. 22). Sometime before this the secretary of foreign affairs of Mexico, Señor Mariscal, said that if the majority of the Hispanic American states desired Mexico City as the next meeting place, he would greatly appreciate the honor, but if some other city were named Mexico would be more than pleased to send delegates there (*S. I. A. C.*, p. 3).

<sup>19</sup> Noel, p. 22.

<sup>20</sup> *S. I. A. C.*, p. 3 and *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess.

<sup>21</sup> *S. I. A. C.*, p. 6.

varying intervals before accepting. Among these latter were Argentina, Peru, and Chile. Before proceeding further it will be necessary, therefore, to take cognizance of a serious question arising from the wording of the program appended to the invitation sent by the Mexican government.

It has been noted that this tentative program was drawn up at the meeting on May 23, of the executive committee of the Union of American Republics. Already on May 21, the minister of the United States at Santiago, Chile, had been informed by the Chilean government that the latter

would be ready to attend the proposed American Conference, provided that . . . it shall not assume the adoption of resolutions of retroactive character, arrogating to itself the cognition of subjects present or past in which any of the Republics invited and attending may have an interest, the object of this condition being to avoid the danger of vexatious questions being raised between those Republics. . . .<sup>22</sup>

On May 26, is noted, the director general of the Union of American Republics submitted the tentative program to the diplomatic representatives of the American States at Washington to be transmitted to their governments for consideration. From this date until October 1, 1900, the Chilean government gave the items for discussion careful consideration. On that day the latter government transmitted to its minister at Washington a communication stating that the first proposition on the program,<sup>23</sup> was "too ample" and suggested

the convenience and even the necessity of conforming it to the subjects named in order to avoid the danger of discussion of opinions at the Conference. The government of Chile also remarked, that the terms of the second and third propositions<sup>24</sup> of the program are too vague and indefinite and carry with them the same danger of the first proposition.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15. Under this date also Chile expressed the fear that if the questions for discussion were not limited a similar embarrassing circumstance might arise as in the First Conference at Washington.

<sup>23</sup> "Points studied by the previous Conference which the New Conference may decide to reconsider."

<sup>24</sup> Second, *Arbitration*; third, *International Court of Claims*.

It was consequently asked that these points should be defined by the executive committee of the Union of American Republics "in a clear and concise manner".<sup>25</sup>

Seemingly these suggestions of the Chilean government caused little action, other than diplomatic correspondence, on the part of the Union of American Republics. Finally, therefore, on April 30, 1901, the government of Chile directed another communication to the Union restating what had been said in the note of October 1, and adding,

The Government of Chile, therefore, concludes with the following wish, . . . "That it is most desirable that the Executive Committee of the American Republics should precisely define Articles I, II, and III of its proposed program." The Government of Chile expressly states that, after seeing the manner in which its remarks to the program are received, it will be able to give a definite answer to the invitation to the Second American Conference addressed to it.<sup>26</sup>

Almost immediately upon receiving this communication, W. C. Fox, the acting director of the Bureau of American Republics, referred it to the acting United States secretary of state. On the 6th of May, the latter called a meeting of the executive committee of the Union of American Republics for 11:00 A. M. in the reception room of the state department. The members present were the acting secretary of state, Mr. Hill; the minister of Columbia, Carlos Martínez Silva; the minister of Costa Rica, Joaquín Bernardo Calvo; the minister of Ecuador, Luís Felipe Carbo; and acting director general of the Bureau of the American Republics, W. C. Fox.<sup>27</sup>

When the meeting was called to order, the chairman read the communication of Chile dated April 30, 1901. The minister of Costa Rica thereupon asked permission to read an answer which he had prepared to the Chilean note, as follows:

<sup>25</sup> *S. I. A. C.*, pp. 14-15. This communication of Chile was called to the attention of the state department at Washington, November 25, 1900.

<sup>26</sup> *S. I. A. C.*, p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14; see also, *New York Tribune*, August 5, 1901, p. 3.



. . . The Executive Committee in drafting the program deliberately abstained from going into details, leaving them to be suggested by the invited governments, deeming this course as most conducive to secure the three indispensable conditions: the universal attendance of the American Republics, the harmony in its deliberations, and the attainment of practical ends for which the unanimous concurrence of the Republics represented is necessary.

In this spirit the Executive Committee was and is of the opinions that in the program for the Second International American Conference no vexatious questions should be included likely to cause divisions among the Republics invited to labor in common for the good of all.

The Executive Committee, therefore, resolves to answer the request of the Government of Chile in the following terms:

"Article 1st. Subjects studied by the First Conference that the Second Conference may decide to reconsider. . . . There was not any subject which raised vexatious questions in the First Conference and consequently, there can be no danger of the Second Conference selecting any such from among the subjects which it may decide to consider.

"Article 2nd. Arbitration.

"It is meant prospective and in no wise retrospective, for the differences that may arise among the American Republics at a date posterior to the date of the exchange of ratification of the treaty of arbitration that the conference may adopt.

"The Executive Committee obviously abstains from any idea of submitting in any manner existing questions as part of the proposed program or of prejudging any existing conditions.

"Article 3rd. International Court of Claims.

"A court of the nature of the mixed international commissions frequently created by international conventions with jurisdiction to consider and decide upon claims presented by the citizens of one Republic against the government of another Republic, for injuries to the person or damages to their property, due to the action of the civil or the military authorities of the respondent government."<sup>28</sup>

These remarks gave rise to some discussion in which the minister from Colombia stated that his government desired that pending as well as future questions should be submitted

<sup>28</sup> *S. I. A. C.*, pp. 15-16.

to arbitration. He was supported in part by the minister from Ecuador who thought that Chile was asking too much to refuse the arbitration of past difficulties. Nevertheless, it was decided to adopt the views of the minister from Costa Rica which was done unanimously. Thereupon, Mr. Fox forwarded a report of the meeting to the Chilean minister, Señor Vicuña, who in turn transmitted it to his government. On the 13th of the same month, the minister of foreign affairs of Chile wired Señor Vicuña that his government viewed with satisfaction the decision of the executive committee and that Chile would accept the invitation to the Second Pan American Conference.<sup>29</sup>

However, negotiations were not to be concluded so quickly, for two days before the Chilean note of May 13, the Bolivian minister in Washington, forwarded a statement to the United States secretary of state, protesting because "a decision of such transcendental importance had been arrived at" in the executive committee meeting of May 6, while he was absent.<sup>30</sup> Continuing he wrote:

While I believe that the decision has been inspired by noble and exalted sentiments of American brotherhood, I think that unfortunately it will provoke the susceptibilities of some of the countries on the Pacific coast, whom I do not desire to mention.

The government of Bolivia has not made any objections, nor has it exacted any conditions for its participation in the Pan American Conference. . . . Neither has any other government made any observations whatsoever regarding the program, which all have accepted with the sole exception of the proposition presented by the Honorable Government of Chile.

This statement was followed by a request that a new meeting of the executive committee be called for a "reconsideration

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16; Noel, pp. 27-28.

<sup>30</sup> Fernando E. Guachalla, the Bolivian minister, was a member of the executive committee but at the time of its meeting was in Buffalo on official business and was, therefore, unable to attend. When, on the 10th of May, he learned of what had taken place at the meeting of May 6 he immediately sent his indignant communication to the secretary of state. *S. I. A. C.*, p. 17.

of the resolutions referred to, or some explanation that may be necessary to remove any obstacle or wrong interpretation, which might frustrate the exalted purposes that the Pan American Conference is called upon to carry into effect.<sup>31</sup>

In accordance with this suggestion the executive committee again met on May 16, the same persons being present as before together with the Bolivian minister. The latter stood firm in the belief that the tentative program as originally suggested should be allowed to stand unlimited by the interpretation of the executive committee of May 6. With him stood the minister from Colombia who proposed the following statement:

The committee declares: That the original program and the amendment approved of in the session of the 6th instant are mere suggestions which do not in anyway restrain the action of the Congress to be held in Mexico nor confine the initiative of the Republics that have been invited thereto.

This proposal, however, was opposed by the ministers from Costa Rica and Ecuador who agreed with the suggestion set forth by the chairman, Mr. Hill, to the effect that

The tentative program will be regarded as indicating the range and character of the subjects discussed by the Congress except as it may be modified by the further agreement of all the members composing the congress.

When these matters were voted upon a tie resulted and the chairman refused to decide the question. The results of the meeting of May 6th were then left to stand as before.<sup>32</sup>

But this decision was much to the distaste of the Bolivian minister and under date of May 21, 1901, he communicated with the director of the Bureau of American Republics reviewing what had taken place at the meeting of the 16th and affirming that the views of the Colombian minister set forth at that time were the only correct and just interpretation of

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.



the tentative program. He also questioned the power of the executive committee to define the subjects to be discussed, asserting that the various states at the conference could bring up for discussion whatever subject they pleased.<sup>33</sup>

On June 20, 1901, Mr. Fox addressed a note to the members of the executive committee requesting their opinions regarding the expediency of communicating to the ambassador of Mexico a synopsis of the proceedings of the session of the executive committee of May 6, in order to define, at the instance of his excellency, the minister of Chile, certain parts of the provisional program for the coming conference.<sup>34</sup> Whether all of the members of the executive committee responded to this request is not certain. In the meantime the Mexican ambassador at Washington transmitted to his government a synopsis of what had occurred at the meeting of May 16.

On June 30, 1901, the department of foreign relations of Mexico transmitted to the United States ambassador, Mr. Clayton, at Mexico City a communication with regard to the meetings of the executive committee of the Union of American Republics and the interpretation of the program of the Second Conference.

We regret very much not to be able to accede to the desire of the government of your excellency, that the government of Mexico shall circulate among all the Republics of America a modification or interpretation by the Executive Committee of the program originally proposed by the same. The reason for this is, that this government when it has once invited, with a certain program, thinks that it has complied with all, which in this respect was its duty, and it is of the opinion, that the conference shall be left in entire liberty to accept, modify or interpret the program, as it may deem proper. On the

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21. On June 10 the American ambassador had presented to the department of foreign relations of Mexico a note setting forth what had taken place at the meeting of the executive committee, May 6, and requesting that the latter government communicate its contents to the republics invited to the conference. (*S. I. A. C.*, p. 16).

other hand, there would hardly be time enough for the interested governments to receive any circular which might now be addressed to them, and that their respective answers could be known in Washington and Mexico. In view of the attitude taken by the government of the Republics of Argentina, Bolivia and Peru,<sup>35</sup> it must be feared, above all, that their answers might reveal at least, the same hesitancy to take part in the conference, now shown by Chile. For this reason Mexico cannot contribute in any manner to prevent the realization of the just desires that the next Pan American Conference be as numerous as is possible.<sup>36</sup>

Apparently the Mexican government was afraid that the note of June 30 might be misunderstood, and on August 23, it endeavored to defend its position of neutrality taken on the question of the program, in a second note addressed to Ambassador Clayton.

The Mexican government, in its desire to observe the most complete neutrality in regard to the question which caused said resolution [of May 6] to be adopted, neither wishes nor intends to reprove it in any way, neither does it oppose its circulation among the representatives of the Republics invited to take part in the Conference; what it desired was that Mexico itself should not circulate said resolution, because from the moment that any opposition is manifested to the matter, such a step would be a most inappropriate one for Mexico, considering the fact that she is charged with the extension of invitations to a fraternal reunion in the capitol of this republic and that she must maintain her neutrality and maintain a necessary indifference to the disputes existing between her sister republics in South and Central America.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> All three of these states had grievances against Chile; Argentine over boundary disputes, and Bolivia and Peru over the unfulfilled provisions of the treaty of Ancón of October 20, 1883, which ended the war of the Pacific. Consequently, these states did not want the question of arbitration limited to future difficulties but desired that it also be applied to the past grievances of the three republics just named. Bolivia, and Peru had doubtless the most cause for complaint. See *New York Tribune*, May 25, 1901, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> *S. I. A. C.*, p. 16.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

With this note the negotiations over the change in the program practically ceased and a month later, on September 27, 1901, Emilio Bello, Chilean ambassador to Mexico, presented to the Mexican minister of foreign relations, Ignacio Mariscal, the Chilean note of acceptance to the invitation to the second International American Conference. In this note the cause of delay in answering was explained and it was added that Chile accepted,

inspired by the highest ideas for dealing in an elevated spirit with the matters indicated in the program, which the said committee of Washington adopted at the session of May 6 ult. . . .

It . . . considers that the conference should occupy itself exclusively with those questions which it would be possible to discuss in a serene and dispassionate spirit [and] . . . that its deliberations should remain free from all questions that are foreign to its noble and exalted purposes, and which might cause differences between the nations taking part, or which effect previous and already concluded compacts, which are not subject to further revision or investigation.

If, contrary to what may be expected or desired, such questions not included in the said program should happen to be introduced our government reserves all necessary liberty of action to proceed in the manner which is best calculated to serve the rights of Chile, as a sovereign and independent nation. . . .<sup>88</sup>

#### IV

Having now discussed at some length the negotiations over the questions of the program it may be well to examine briefly the attitude of the public in general concerning what was happening.

In the United States, Chile was universally condemned.<sup>89</sup> The consensus of opinion seemed to be that Chile feared arbitration because of the questions which had arisen out of the

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

<sup>89</sup> For proof of this see *The Pan American Congress and Arbitration*, 1901, (n.p.) wherein are copied editorials from some sixty United States papers condemning the action of Chile in trying to limit the scope of arbitration. The very number of these periodicals indicates the wide interest created at an early date in the conference.



war of the Pacific and the disposition of Tacna and Arica.<sup>40</sup> This view was taken by the *New York Tribune*.<sup>41</sup> On July 27 1901, the same paper asserted that Chile was trying to gag and fetter the conference by insisting upon limiting the question of arbitration.<sup>42</sup> These two opinions on the part of one paper seem to represent as nearly as can be determined the feeling of the people of the United States in regard to Chile's attitude. On the other hand, the United States government was praised for its stand upon the matter of the questions to be discussed at the Second Conference. This position was also set forth by the *New York Tribune* on July 14, 1901:

. . . The United States Government has not made itself a mere tag to the Chilean kite by adopting the extreme Chilean view concerning arbitration but has stood firmly for the original tentative program. . . . It should be obvious that this is the right and reasonable course to pursue. The Congress must be free. It would be a mockery of deliberation to summon it to meet with gags in the mouths of its members. . . .<sup>43</sup>

But quite a different view was held by papers in South America concerning the attitude of the United States government with regard to the program question. Rumors had been current during the discussion to the effect that Chile was spreading propaganda throughout Hispanic America.<sup>44</sup> A Peruvian writer, naturally hostile to Chile, stated that it was generally believed that Chile had sent an agent to Central

<sup>40</sup> *The Manufacturer*, Philadelphia, April 1, 1901; *New York Tribune*, May 24, 1901.

<sup>41</sup> *New York Tribune*, May 24, 1901, p. 6 (editorial); October 7, 1901, p. 8 (editorial).

<sup>42</sup> *New York Tribune*, July 27, 1901, p. 6 (editorial).

<sup>43</sup> *New York Tribune*, July 14, 1901, p. 6 (editorial).

<sup>44</sup> On July 28, 1901, the *New York Tribune* affirmed that the Chilean minister in Washington, Señor Vicuña, had sent telegrams all over South America stating that he had induced the United States government to admit the principle of restricted arbitration in order to create the impression that the United States favored the attitude which Chile had taken over the question of arbitration in the program.

America to spread propaganda against the arbitration of past disputes.<sup>45</sup> Whether or not these rumors were true it is impossible to determine but it is certain that many Hispanic Americans held the idea that the United States government had taken the side of Chile in limiting the discussion of arbitration to future difficulties. On June 6, 1901, the New York *Herald* affirmed

All newspapers [in Argentina] blame the United States government on account of its attitude regarding the Chilean proposal to exclude the Tacna-Arica question from discussion at the Pan American Congress. Argentina is resolved not to accept the amended program and will insist upon the original one. It is, therefore, probable that Argentina will not participate in the Congress. It is asserted that Uruguay and Paraguay will follow Argentina's example. Brazil has not decided upon her course, but it is believed that she will not take part in the Congress.<sup>46</sup>

*El País* of Buenos Aires, accused the United States government of accepting the Chilean proposal of a change in the program

with lightness and without reflection, which consequently places in jeopardy the meeting of the conference.<sup>47</sup>

Meanwhile Chilean papers were not abiding their time without a word. *La Lei*, of Santiago asserted that the Chilean government had a profound sympathy with the idea of arbitration.<sup>48</sup> Many other Chilean journals repeatedly made the same assertion but always with the reservation that ar-

<sup>45</sup> Aribal Maúrtua, *La Idea Pan Americana y la cuestión del arbitraje* (Lima, 1901), p. 198.

<sup>46</sup> New York *Herald*, June 6, 1901. This article is rather too strong and represents more the view of the radical press while such influential papers as *La Tribuna*, *La Prensa*, and *La Nación*, of Buenos Aires, the *Journal do Brasil* of Rio de Janeiro, and *La Patria*, of Asunción, Paraguay, were inclined to put the blame upon Chile and declared that if necessary they would support their governments' views of staying away from the conference if Chile had its way. See further, New York *Herald*, June 10, 1901.

<sup>47</sup> New York *Tribune*, July 28, 1901, p. 10.

<sup>48</sup> *Literary Digest*, August 10, 1901, p. 173.

bitration must not be applied to pending questions.<sup>49</sup> This seemed to be the general opinion held in Chile at the time. However, it was not the only view concerning arbitration for one writer "a most eminent and learned authority", writing in *La Lei*, Santiago, affirmed that

Compulsory arbitration is an unrealizable utopia, and a contradiction in itself. He who would impose it upon all countries manifests an absolute ignorance of the most elemental principles of right. No thinker, no scientist, has accepted compulsory arbitration, such as is now being preached and even the most idealistic congresses have always recognized that questions exist which it is not possible to submit to any arbitration whatever. . . .<sup>50</sup>

It may well be asked, why Chile should maintain the stand against arbitration which she took. In the First Conference at Washington Chile had held a similar position, and most persons familiar with the situation agreed that Chilean opposition to the arbitration of past disputes had grown out of the War of the Pacific, but some individuals were inclined to look for an added cause for Chile's attitude. And it was only natural that such seekers should turn to Europe.

On July 10, 1901, the New York *Herald* asserted that certain European interests, particularly German, did not want the Congress to be a success.

A gentleman who is very closely in touch with the purpose and scope of the Pan American Congress says that European influences have been busy in Santiago, Chile, encouraging the Chilean Government to take the stand that threatens to disrupt the Congress. He also says that the same influences have been at work in Lima, urging the Peruvians to combat the position taken by Chile. Similar diplomatic effort has been in progress in Buenos Aires priming the Argentine government to refuse to enter congress unless Chile yields.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, November 2, 1901, p. 544.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, November 23, 1901, p. 655.

<sup>51</sup> It is added that "this, like all diplomatic campaigns of a similar character, is very difficult of proof, but the high and conservative character of the gentleman who makes the statement is sufficient warrant to entitle it to respectful consideration."



A fortnight before this statement appeared, an Albany paper asserted that

Certain statesmen on the continent are said to have given Peru and Bolivia assurances of financial aid in recovering lost provinces and a way to the sea, if those nations would stir up strife, which might make futile the attempt to hold another Pan American Conference. . . Germany, which has the colonization fever, may be responsible for Peru and Bolivia balking at the present time.<sup>52</sup>

Whether or not European diplomacy had a hand in the difficulty which arose over arbitration, it is certain that the discussion caused by the Chilean attitude created no little interest abroad. Many continental governments sent requests to their representatives at Washington for information as to the contents of the proposed program of the conference.

In European circles the idea prevails that the discussion may have some relation to the Monroe Doctrine since it appears to contemplate coöperation between the United States and southern countries.

The Spanish government is naturally much interested in the gathering as a like assemblage was held in Madrid last year for the purpose of uniting the interests of Spain and the Spanish American countries. At that time arbitration was considered, the general subject being approved by unanimous vote, except Chile, which recorded her dissent.<sup>53</sup>

## V

On June 6, 1900, congress provided \$25,000 for the expenses of delegates to the proposed International Conference of American States and for necessary clerical assistance.<sup>54</sup> In accordance with this act the president appointed the men who were to represent the United States. They were Henry G. Davis, chairman, an ex-senator from West Virginia, a pres-

<sup>52</sup> *Press-Knickerbocker and Morning Express* (Albany, N. Y.), May 25, 1901.

<sup>53</sup> *The Evening News* (Newark, N. J.), May 27, 1901.

<sup>54</sup> *Statutes at Large*, XXXI, 637. It is interesting to note that this small sum was exhausted four or five weeks before the conference adjourned and that the United States delegates had to defray their own expenses after that. *New York Tribune*, January 17, 1902.

ident of a bank, a trust company, the West Virginia Central and Pittsburgh Railroad, and the Davis Coal and Coke Company, a member of the first Conference, and a member of the International Railway Commission; William I. Buchanan of Iowa, formerly envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Argentina, and director-general of the Pan American Exposition; Charles M. Pepper of Washington, D. C., a journalist and an editor; Volney W. Foster of Wisconsin, then engaged in the lumber and manufacturing business, and the originator of a plan to build a pleasure drive along Lake Michigan between Milwaukee and Chicago; and John Barrett of Oregon, a journalist and minister to Siam. As commercial attaché to the delegation went W. P. Wilson, director of the International Bureau of Commerce of Philadelphia. The director general of the Bureau of American Republics, William C. Fox, accompanied the delegates mainly to take charge of the library of the Bureau which was sent to the conference for reference purposes.<sup>55</sup> On July 27, 1901, these men, with the exception of Mr. Davis, met at Buffalo, where each was given a subject from the tentative program in order that he might familiarize himself with it.<sup>56</sup>

Under date of October 8, 1901, the final instructions to the delegates were issued from the White House by President Roosevelt. He asserted that the United States commission was to "act under the direction of the Department of State to which it will make all necessary reports, and which will arrange for the transportation and entertainment of its members and for such clerical service as it may require. . . ."

The end toward which the proposed conference is directed is the promotion of the mutual prosperity of the American Republics and

<sup>55</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 4-6, 17; Noel, pp. 48-72, *passim*. Dr. Cyrus G. Northrop, president of the University of Minnesota, was among those appointed originally but he declined to act as it was necessary for him to deliver the bi-centennial address at Yale University which was to occur while the congress was in session (*New York Tribune*, April 12, 1901).

<sup>56</sup> *New York Tribune*, July 28, 1901.

of harmony between them. The interests likely to be affected by its discussion and conclusions are (1) political, (2) commercial, and (3) special. The general principles which should guide the delegates in the performance of their duties may, therefore, be indicated under these heads.

The president then asserted that it was to the interest of the United States as well as to the interests of the southern republics that peace and self-government should be enjoyed by all.

It should . . . be the effort of this commission to impress upon the representatives of our sister Republics . . . that we entertain toward them no sentiments but those of friendship and fraternity.

The method by which this result may be best accomplished is not, however, that of direct assurance, but by generous coöperation for the common good, and sincere interest in the efforts and aspirations of our neighbors to attain it. It is not, therefore, opportune for the delegates of the United States to assume the part of leadership in the Conference, either in its official organization or in its discussions. . . . It is desirable that the plans and propositions of the Latin American States should be solicited, received with consideration, and if possible brought to fruition—if this can be done in consonance with our national interests and without offense to other powers. Great care should be taken not to wound the sensibilities of any of the Republics, or to take sides upon issues between them, but to treat them with frankness, equity, and generosity, and to disabuse their minds of any false impressions, if such exist, regarding the attitude and purposes of the United States.

The president cautioned the delegates to use every effort possible to secure the greatest unity of action at the conference. The representatives of the United States were to enter as little as possible into questions involving political differences between the Hispanic American States. On no question were they to propose anything "radical" but to favor the free expression on the part of others. In regard to commercial relations the southern republics must be led to see that



it is not merely mercenary motives which have led the United States to cultivate their friendship.

The president suggested that if any questions should arise as to the range of program subjects or as to their interpretation, the delegates should hold that such matters were to be decided by the conference. As for arbitration, it should be voluntary. The United States delegates were not to insist that the conference should take cognizance of the dispute between Chile, Peru, and Bolivia and if such a question were to come before the conference, the United States representatives were to attempt to maintain harmony and act in a strictly neutral fashion.

There seemed to be many difficulties in the way of forming an international court of claims, but the United States favored the principle if it could be found practicable.

In concluding the president said:

. . . It is hoped that the personal contact and exchange of views for which the Conference affords occasions may tend to tighten the bonds of friendship and good understanding between all the Republics represented and give new assurances of the relations of mutual goodwill and helpfulness which it is designed to cultivate. . . .<sup>57</sup>

## VI

As in the case of the First Conference the Hispanic American countries sent able and experienced representatives, most of whom had served their respective states as diplomats and statesmen. From Argentina came Sr. Bermejo, a statesman and professor of international law; Sr. Mérou, an experienced diplomat, an historian and an essayist; and Sr. Amadón, a statesman and president of the faculty of letters in the University of Buenos Aires. Brazil sent in the person of Sr. Pereira, a distinguished professor and jurist who had been minister of justice, and judge of the supreme court. Chile sent among others Sr. Gana, a diplomat of thirty-eight years experience and a member of the Legion of Honor of France,

<sup>57</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, pp. 31-36.

a member of the Royal Order of Isabel the Catholic of Spain, and a member of the Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the crown of Prussia. Colombia was represented by the noted explorer, diplomat, and statesman, General Rafael Reyes; and by Sr. Silva, a delegate to the First Conference, a professor, a congressman, and a cabinet member. Salvador sent a distinguished international lawyer, Sr. Estupinián. Honduras sent Sr. Leonard, a native of Poland, dean of the University of Tegucigalpa, and an authority on tropical agriculture. Mexico had the largest delegation consisting of nine gentlemen, among whom were Sr. Chevaro, a lawyer, poet, orator, journalist, archæologist, historian, and member of the permanent Tribunal of Arbitration at The Hague; and Sr. Casasús, a journalist and political economist, and a representative at the International Monetary Conference at Brussels. Peru sent its vice-president, Sr. Alzamora, who had been professor of philosophy, political economy, and pedagogy at the University of Lima; and Sr. Elmore who was a justice of the supreme court and an international lawyer.<sup>58</sup> All of the delegates to the conference had plenary powers except those from Nicaragua and Paraguay, and they were instructed, as were the delegates from the United States, to sign *ad referendum*.<sup>59</sup>

## VII

On October 22, 1901, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the Second International American Conference met in the reception room of the ministry of finance in the national palace in Mexico City.<sup>60</sup> The conference was called to order by Ignacio

<sup>58</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, pp. 4-6; Noel, pp. 31-48. *S. I. A. C.*, pp. 23-24 also gives a list of the delegates.

<sup>59</sup> For powers of the delegates see *Sen. Doc.*, 330, p. 4. Not all of the delegates were able to arrive at the meeting on time nor to remain throughout the entire session.

<sup>60</sup> This was in the left wing of the national palace which had been vacated by the minister of finance. The building stood on the site where once had been the Hall of Montezuma. An excellent description of the meeting place together with a list of conveniences arranged for the delegates may be found in *Harper's Weekly*, November 9, 1901, and in Noel, pp. 65-68.

Mariscal, secretary of the department of foreign affairs of Mexico. He spoke of the results of the First International Conference at Washington and predicted success for the Second Conference. He expressed his confidence that the members would do their utmost

to avoid all spirit of dissension, whether it springs from concrete questions, or from traditions or instincts incompatible with a true Pan American sentiment, which does not admit of geographical distinctions, nor make any difference as to race or language. . . .

Finally he welcomed all in the name of the Mexican government.<sup>61</sup>

In reply to this address Señor Alzamoro of Peru reaffirmed the predictions of the secretary that this conference would be harmonious and successful and thanked the Mexican secretary and the Mexican government for their hospitality.<sup>62</sup>

At the close of this address the secretary of foreign affairs, in the name of the president of Mexico, declared the Second International American Conference open and invited the delegates to appoint a president *pro tem* pending the discussion of the rules and regulations and the definite nomination of the officers of the conference. Accordingly Señor Raigosa, president of the Mexican delegation, was elected president *pro tem* and took the chair stating that the Mexican government had taken measures to provide regulations for the conference in

<sup>61</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., p. 6; *S. I. A. C.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>62</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., p. 6; *S. I. A. C.*, p. 26. Of the opening speeches of the conference various opinions were held in the United States. On October 24, 1901, the *Chicago Tribune* asserted that the address of the Mexican secretary would tend to remove some of the suspicion held toward the United States by the Hispanic American governments. On the whole, the paper was favorably impressed. On the other hand, the *New York Nation*, on October 31, 1901, was inclined to ridicule the Hispanic American "art of elaborate compliments and protestation" saying that they meant nothing. "Once more we are asked to behold Washington as 'the Saxon father' and Bolívar as 'the Latin father' extending hands of benediction over the heads of the two blushing and happy continents. Try as they will, our delegates cannot beat the representatives of the Southern Republics at that sort of thing." These two papers represent very well the two views held in this country—the benevolent and the skeptical.



order that no time might be lost.<sup>63</sup> These were immediately presented to the delegates. The president *pro tem* further asked the conference to approve the nomination of the list of secretaries which he presented. This was likewise done by the delegates.<sup>64</sup> A resolution was then introduced and concurred in that the names of the deceased members of the First International American Conference be recorded in the minutes of the inaugural session. It was further resolved that the tragic death of President McKinley be deeply lamented by the conference. This likewise was approved unanimously. Thereupon the meeting adjourned.<sup>65</sup>

Article 25 of the regulations of the conference provided for the election of permanent officials. This, however, was not carried out until several meetings had elapsed. On October 31, the Mexican secretary of foreign affairs, Señor Mariscal, was chosen honorary president of the conference. On November 2, the name of Henry G. Davis of the United States delegation was presented by a Colombian delegate as permanent

<sup>63</sup> For a discussion of the regulations of the conference see *S. I. A. C.*, pp. 33-76, *passim*.

<sup>64</sup> Mr. Noel, who was in a position to know, affirmed that "a competent staff of expert stenographers, both for the English and Spanish languages greatly expedited the work of the various committees in preparing numerous documents and papers. The busiest man at the congress headquarters undoubtedly was Joaquín D. Casasús, Secretary-general of the congress . . . Sr. Casasús was practically Chief Executive Officer, as the real work of arranging many details devolved upon him. He was most efficiently assisted by Secretaries Godry, Dávalos, Duret and Mecedo. It is but justice to give him due credit for the dignified, easy and unruffled fashion in which the routine work of the congress was carried on. Two other gentlemen, Mr. Starr-Hunt and Mr. Romero, are also entitled to a mention for the able and conscientious manner in which they fulfilled their difficult tasks as oral translators. As the deliberations of the Congress were in the English and Spanish languages, it was necessary for the benefit of the United States delegates, that all remarks in Spanish be immediately translated into English. This task was intrusted to Mr. Starr-Hunt, who acquitted himself with credit under many difficult circumstances; while Mr. Romero . . . translated orally into Spanish all the remarks or speeches made by the United States delegates. This applies as well to the observations and speeches made at various times by M. Léger, delegate from Haiti, whose remarks in French were translated into English." Noel, pp. 67-68.

<sup>65</sup> *S. I. A. C.*, pp. 27-28.

president but he declined and the president *pro tem*, Señor Raigosa, was chosen as permanent president. At the same session the secretary of state of the United States, John Hay, was elected honorary president.<sup>66</sup>

Another step in the organization of the conference was the selection of the permanent committees which was provided for in Chapter II of the regulations. This matter was also delayed. On November 2, the members for the committee of arbitration were designated and on November 4, the president announced the appointment of the members of the other committees.<sup>67</sup>

### VIII

The work accomplished by the congress in its various sessions may be divided into five classes.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28-31, *passim*; *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., p. 7.

<sup>67</sup> *S. I. A. C.*, pp. 77-78. It happened that some members had a preference for a certain committee and desired to serve upon that instead of upon the one to which they were originally assigned. Also some members were forced to leave the conference before its termination and their places on committees were filled by others. Consequently the president of the conference was forced at various times to change the personnel of the committees. The question of reporting the activities of the conference in the press came up at several early sessions. Article XXI of the Regulations stated that sessions were to be public unless "determined otherwise". The United States led the move for full publicity at all times. Others favored a summary or censored report which should be given to the press by the secretary general. When the president elect of the conference ruled that only three press representatives should be allowed at the sessions, one representing the United States, one South America and the third the local press, the proposition was laid before all of the newspaper representatives in the city at a meeting called in the hall of sessions and a stormy gathering resulted. The foreign press refused to take part and the local press asserted that they would ignore the conference entirely. Finally, however, the matter was settled and the local press was represented as were the Associated Press and other news services. The press representatives, though not admitted to secret sessions, were, however, able to give full accounts of what had occurred. See Noel, pp. 75-82; *S. I. A. C.*, pp. 47-68; T. R. Dowley, "At the Pan American Conference", *Outlook*, December 28, 1901.

<sup>68</sup> Articles 22, 23, and 24 of the Regulations provided that the session should be divided into two periods: "During the 1st period all the reports already prepared and presented by the delegates shall be made, as well as the propositions submitted by the delegates that may be taken into consideration by vote of the conference. The reports submitted by the delegates as well as the resolutions

## RECOMMENDATIONS

On January 21, 1902, sixteen states signed the recommendation for the establishment of an International American Bank which provided for the setting up of such an institution with branches in the larger mercantile centers of the American nations. The object of this recommendation was to make possible direct financial transactions between the several republics and to establish rules for granting credits and for charging commissions.<sup>69</sup>

On January 29, a recommendation was adopted for the establishment of an international American archæological commission with headquarters at Washington, D. C. Its purpose was to study and preserve the various archæological and ethnological remains in the western hemisphere. The commission which was to represent all of the American states, was to meet once a year, and was to endeavor to establish a museum for the purpose of preserving various antiquities.<sup>70</sup>

presented, shall be referred to the proper committee for their consideration and to report upon them. . . . Upon the reading of the papers and the propositions referred to . . . the first period shall terminate, and thereupon a sufficient time shall elapse in order that the committees of the Conference may confer. . . . The second period of sessions shall begin upon proper notice given by the President of the Conference on the date he may name, and shall end when the debates on the reports submitted to the committees shall have concluded". (*S. I. A. C.*, p. 34). Between these two periods of the conference occurred the excursions and other diversions for the delegates. For these see *Segunda Conferencia Pan Americana; Crónica Social*, Mexico (n.d.) *passim*; Noel, pp. 54-64; files of *New York Tribune*, October, November, December, 1901; *The Outlook*, December 14, 1901, pp. 2971-2975. The meetings seem to have progressed very smoothly. However, the United States delegation on December 6 agreed that the meetings should be called together more promptly than previously as they were usually an hour late in opening, and thus caused much wasted time. They also asked that five instead of three meetings be held each week. *New York Tribune*, December 7, 1901, p. 8.

\* *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 20-21, 173-175. Chile did not sign, and Brazil and Venezuela were not represented. The matter was discussed on November 29, December 2, 9, 16, 18, 20, 23, 27, 1901, and January 21, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 83-104 *passim*). This was in line with a similar resolution adopted by the First Conference.

"This was signed by all of the states present except Argentina. *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 20, 170-172. The matter was discussed December 16, 1901, and January 22, 24, and 29, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 242-244).



The same day also a recommendation in favor of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum was agreed to which looked to the adoption of measures by the several states to complete or renew their exhibits in the museum and to transmit to it such data as would tend to favor and increase mercantile traffic.<sup>71</sup>

### RESOLUTIONS

On January 21, 1902, a resolution was adopted favoring the construction of a Pan American railway and reaffirming the principal recommendations made by the First Conference.<sup>72</sup> Among other provisions the most important was that empowering the president of the conference to appoint a committee, residing in the United States, to keep alive and stimulate the movement for such a road and to report to the next conference the progress made during the interim. The commission was also given the power to convoke within a year a meeting of the diplomatic representatives of the American states in Washington for the purpose of perfecting a convention for the construction of the road.<sup>73</sup>

On January 22, a resolution was signed providing for an international American customs congress to meet in New York City within a year, to consider customs administrative matters. All the American nations were to be represented and the governing board of the International Bureau of American Republics was to determine the date of meeting.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> This was signed by all the states except Argentina and the Dominican Republic. *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 21, 176-177. The subject was discussed December 16 and 30, 1901 and January 22, 24, 27, 28, and 29, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 265-272).

<sup>72</sup> This was signed by all except Haiti and the Dominican Republic (*Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 143-147). The matter was discussed on November 29, December 4, 20, 23, and 27, 1901, and January 21, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 104-122).

<sup>73</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 13-15. Mr. Davis, Chairman of the United States delegation, was appointed chairman of the Railway Committee. Andrew Carnegie was also made a member (*ibid.*, p. 15).

<sup>74</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 15-17, 148-152. This was signed by all of the states represented, Brazil and Venezuela having withdrawn. The

The next day, a resolution was adopted which provided for the collection and publication of complete information regarding the sources of production and statistics of the American republics. The provisions of this resolution were to be carried out by the International Bureau of American Republics which should publish all statistics and data upon the population, resources, industries, etc., of the various republics, the latter furnishing this information at least once each year.<sup>75</sup>

On January 29, the conference adopted a resolution in regard to facilitating international commercial intercourse by treaties of commercial reciprocity.<sup>76</sup>

On the same day, a resolution was adopted in regard to quarantine and international sanitation which provided that within a year the governing board of the International Bureau of American Republics should convene at Washington a meeting of the health officials of the American states who should be empowered to conclude sanitary agreements and regulations. Such meetings should occur frequently and a permanent executive board of five members should be designated which was to be known as the "International Sanitary Bureau", with headquarters at Washington. To this bureau the American states were to send all data obtainable regarding sanitary conditions within their respective states, and to ask for advice and aid along sanitary lines.<sup>77</sup>

Further, on the same day, a resolution was signed providing for an international American congress to consider the subject was discussed November 29, December 20, 30, 1901 and January 22, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 122-130).

<sup>75</sup> The resolution was signed by all of the nations present (*Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 19, 165-167). The question was discussed December 18, 27, 1901, and January 22, 23, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 131-133).

<sup>76</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 12-13, 152-155. This was signed by all of the states present. The subject was discussed January 22, 24, 28, and 29, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 244-248).

<sup>77</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 16-17, 155-160. All of the states signed this resolution except Argentina and Paraguay. The matter was discussed at the sessions on November 8, 1901, January 24, 28, and 29, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 254-265).

crisis in the coffee industry and to study the production and consumption of that product. This congress was to be called by the International Bureau of American Republics to meet within a year in New York City to investigate the cause for the crisis through which the coffee industry was passing, and to suggest reforms. All of the American states were to be represented.<sup>78</sup>

Finally, on the same day, a resolution was concurred in which provided for the reorganization of the International Bureau of American Republics, for the purpose of making it more efficient and useful to the various states.<sup>79</sup> Also a resolution was presented and signed providing for a future conference, to meet within five years at a place to be designated by the secretary of state of the United States and the diplomatic representatives of the American republics at Washington. These persons were further empowered to draw up a program and to arrange necessary details for the meeting. If it were found impossible to convene the meeting within five years another time was to be designated. At the next conference each government was expected to make a report as to what steps had been taken in carrying out the work of the Second Conference during the interim.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 19-25, 167-169. All states represented signed the resolution except Chile. This question was discussed December 30, 1901, January 20, 24, 28, 29, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 293-295).

<sup>79</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 17-19, 161-164. This was signed by all the delegates present. The subject was discussed November 27, 1901, January 22, 24, 28, 29, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 248-254). The seat of the Bureau remained in Washington in the logical place. However, New Orleans desired to be the headquarters of the Bureau. On November 20, a letter was addressed to John Barrett by Mr. Zacharie of New Orleans suggesting that the Bureau be located in that city and that steps be taken if possible toward that end. These suggestions Mr. Barrett promised to lay before the United States delegation. New Orleans *Times Democrat*, November 15, and 26, 1901.

<sup>80</sup> This was signed by all the delegates (*Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 8, 24-25, 230-232). The subject was discussed January 24, 28, and 29, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 291-293). Among the other resolutions passed by the delegates were those on various subjects of minor or personal nature, including the indorsing of the construction of an interocean canal by the United States government; sending



## CONVENTIONS

On January 27, 1902, the delegates signed a convention for the exchange of documents and government publications including scientific, literary, and industrial publications.<sup>81</sup> At the same session a convention was signed for the protection of literary and artistic property by means of international copyright.<sup>82</sup>

On the same day also, a convention was signed which provided for the formation of public and private codes of international American law. The secretary of state of the United States and the representatives of the American states at Washington were empowered to select five American and two European jurists of acknowledged reputation to draft a code of public international law and one of private international law to govern the relations between American nations. After such codes should have been submitted to the various American governments for suggestions, they were to be revised and resubmitted for adoption.<sup>83</sup>

On January 28, 1902, a convention was concurred in with regard to the practice of the learned professions in the va-

of greetings to the Republic of Cuba; indorsing the Louisiana purchase exposition; congratulating the officials of the Pan American Exposition and the citizens of Buffalo; communicating to the American republics the invitation of the international association of Olympic Games to participate in the same when they should be held in Chicago in 1904; thanking General Rafael Reyes for his work in exploring the several river systems of South America; congratulating Santos Dumont, the Brazilian aeronaut; expressing esteem for Carlos Calvo, the Argentine writer on international law; and thanking the officers of the conference for their labors, and the president of Mexico and other officials for their hospitality. *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 173-184 *passim*.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 213-218. This was signed by all delegates present. The subject was discussed November 6, 29, December 2, 23, 1901, January 10, 24, and 27, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 133-140).

<sup>82</sup> This was signed by all the members present (*Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 8, 206-213). The subject was discussed December 16, 18, 1901, January 10, 22, 24, and 27, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 140-147).

<sup>83</sup> This was signed by all the states present (*Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7-8, 201-206). The matter was discussed November 8, December 20, 30, 1901, January 22, 24, and 27, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 148-160).

rious American states, in order to exclude all individuals not provided with suitable certificates from accredited institutions.<sup>84</sup>

The next day, a convention was signed dealing with the rights of aliens which provided that such persons were to enjoy all civil rights given to citizens except as prevented from so doing by the constitutions of the various states.<sup>85</sup>

### PROTOCOL

On January 15, 1902, the delegates signed a protocol of adhesion to the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes signed at The Hague July 29, 1899.<sup>86</sup>

### TREATIES

On January 27, 1902, a treaty was signed by the delegates with regard to patents and trademarks, including patents upon invention, industrial drawings, and models. This gave citizens of other nations rights enjoyed by those living within the various states but subject to the laws of that country.<sup>87</sup> On the next day a treaty was signed providing for the extradition of criminals and for protection against anarchy.<sup>88</sup> On

<sup>84</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 23-24, 195-201. All the states represented signed. The subject was discussed November 29, December 2, 6, 9, 1901, January 2, 13, 15, 24, 28, 1902. (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 221-244).

<sup>85</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 226-230. The United States and Haiti abstained from voting. The matter was discussed December 4, 18, 1901, and January 24, 27, 28, 29, 1902.

<sup>86</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 36-39. This was signed by 15 states. Brazil, Chile, and Ecuador did not sign while Venezuela ratified *ad referendum* the first three articles but not the 4th which provided that an attempt be made to draw up a general arbitration convention and have it agreed to by all of the American states (*ibid.*, pp. 36-39).

<sup>87</sup> The United States did not sign this treaty. The subject was discussed on December 16, 23, 1901, January 2, 20, 24, and 27, 1902 (*Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 8, 218-226; *S. I. A. C.*, pp. 160-183).

<sup>88</sup> This was signed by all the states present (*Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 22-23, 184-195). The subject was discussed December 23, 1901, January 2, 4, 6, 8, 24, and 28, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 183-221).

January 30, a treaty of arbitration of pecuniary claims was signed.<sup>89</sup>

The day before, on January 29, a treaty was entered into providing for compulsory arbitration. This was signed by nine states, namely Argentina, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Salvador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay.<sup>90</sup> Of all the questions discussed, this provided most comment by observers, partly by reason of the stand which Chile had taken upon the matter in the wording of the tentative program, and partly because of the position which that country maintained at the conference over the question, thereby nearly causing a disruption of the meeting. It is therefore, necessary to examine this subject more closely.

As the discussion progressed there appeared three views in regard to arbitration, namely:<sup>91</sup>

\* All the states represented signed the treaty (*Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 139-143). The subject was discussed November 6, 8, 1901, January 27, 28, and 30, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 295-310). On this day the delegates of Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Paraguay signed an act providing for the convening at Rio de Janeiro of a geographical congress within a year. This was to consider means for "opening up a great system of river highways throughout the interior of South America which will bring practically all parts of the great river basins east of the Andes Mountains into communication with each other and with the Atlantic ocean." The signing of this convention was a result of Rafael Reyes's address before the conference giving an account of his explorations of the South American river systems. The convention was not strictly an act of the conference, though it was discussed at the sessions of December 30, 1901, January 20 and 30, 1902. (*Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., p. 25; *S. I. A. C.*, pp. 385-399). For an excellent summary of the work of the conference see "Pan American Conferences and their significance" in *Supplement to the Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, May 1906, pp. 9-11.

\*\* *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 7, 40-47. The subject was discussed November 6, December 2, 1901, January 15, 16, 17, 22, and 29, 1902 (*S. I. A. C.*, pp. 310-384).

\* It might be noted in passing that in order to prevent divergence of opinions at the next conference the delegates were asked to submit confidentially their views on the question of arbitration prior to the meeting of the conference. See Gonzalo de Quesado, *Arbitration in Latin America* (Rotterdam 1907). See also, Édouard Gérardin, "La Question de L'Arbitrage aux Conférences Pan Américaines" in *Revue de Sciences Politiques*, Paris, September 1913, pp. 241-260. This constitutes one of the best summaries of the question of arbitration at the conference ever published.



1. Obligatory arbitration, covering all questions pending or future when they did not affect either the independence or national honor of a country;
2. Obligatory arbitration, covering future questions only and defining what questions shall constitute those to be excepted from arbitration; and
3. Facultative or voluntary arbitration, as best expressed by the Hague Convention.<sup>92</sup>

The first of these views was suggested and supported vigorously by Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The second was favored by Chile, Ecuador, and Colombia, while the third was held mainly by the United States representatives who desired to remain neutral and to maintain peace among the delegates in accordance with the instructions which they had received.<sup>93</sup>

The discussion over arbitration gave rise to the rumor that Chile had threatened to withdraw from the conference, although this was contradicted by the Chilean delegate, Señor Martínez.<sup>94</sup> In all their views, however, the Chilean delegates were supported by public opinion at home.<sup>95</sup> During the whole conference they "stood out as the most prominent and aggressive, perhaps, of all" the other delegates. Chile was never in doubt as to its desire and put forth most determined

<sup>92</sup> Quesada, *Arbitrations*, p. 45. See also W. I. Buchanan, "Latin America and the Mexican Conference" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for July 1903, pp. 47-55.

<sup>93</sup> *Literary Digest*, December 28, 1901, p. 826. The attitude of the United States delegates toward arbitration at the conference was that generally favored in this country. See *Literary Digest* for November 2, 1901, p. 544, and December 28, 1901, pp. 826-827.

<sup>94</sup> It was largely through the influence of the United States delegation and especially through the actions of Mr. Davis that the conference did not break up over the question of arbitration. T. R. Dawley, "Arbitration at the Pan American Congress", *Outlook* January 25, 1902, pp. 232-236.

<sup>95</sup> *La Lei*, of Santiago, Chile asserted: "So far as the Chilean delegates are concerned, the most absolute conviction prevails throughout this country, that they understood their duty perfectly and that they will interpret with wisdom the language of wisdom and justice". *Literary Digest*, January 25, 1902, p. 126.

effort to achieve its purpose.<sup>96</sup> It was doubtless this unflinching stand of the Chileans which caused their delegation to receive so much ridicule especially in this country, for the press of the United States generally favored compulsory arbitration.<sup>97</sup>

## IX

The Conference having accomplished its work,<sup>98</sup> met for the last time on the afternoon of January 31, 1902.<sup>99</sup> The closing address was delivered by Ignacio Mariscal, secretary of the department of foreign affairs of Mexico. He spoke in part as follows:

. . . Without sacrificing the varying interests of your respective nations you have succeeded in finding the points as to which an agreement was possible, while other points which have been touched by you without intemperate accredit or offensive allusions, were straightway nobly repaired or deferentially explained away. . . .

But more than this you have done. For reasons still more momentous you deserve the congratulations . . . of all lovers of moral progress and justice. You have advanced in practice, the great principle of arbitration of the powerful and rational solution of interna-

<sup>96</sup> Dawley, "The Personal of the Pan American Congress", *Outlook*, February 8, 1902, p. 380. The general view among the Chileans was that their delegation had accomplished its aims. *New York Tribune*, January 18, 1902.

<sup>97</sup> See *New York Nation*, December 5, 1901; *Harper's Weekly*, January 11, 1902; and *New York Tribune*, January 15, 19, 1902. Many of the papers of the United States also favored the establishment of an International Court of Arbitration to be located in this country. See *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 7, 1901, p. 6, and *New Orleans Times Democrat*, January 17, 1902, p. 6. As for the future of arbitration in America see Penfield, *Some Difficulties of Pan American Arbitration*, Indianapolis (?) (n.d.) p. 8, and H. Taylor, "International Arbitration and the Pan American Conference", *North American Review*, March 1902, p. 314.

<sup>98</sup> The last plenary session was that of January 30, 1902.

<sup>99</sup> The first part of the meeting was taken up with the passing of a resolution thanking the press for its interest and the publicity which it had given the congress. A cable from Secretary of State John Hay to Mr. Buchanan was read in which it was stated that the United States government was grateful that "the Conference had manifested so marked a spirit of friendly coöperation for the well-being of the American Republics", and it was hoped successful results would follow. This was answered by the conference (*S. I. A. C.*, p. 401).

tional controversies, so as to render less frequent the barbarous appeal to force. . . .

Señor Mariscal then reviewed the work of the conference concluding:

The Pan American Conference, gentlemen, has on the occasion of its second gathering produced truly practical results, which are all the more entitled to praise and admiration, in proportion as they were unexpected, by persons who contemplated the work of this Assembly from afar.

It is possible that the results obtained may not come up to what an enthusiastic Pan Americanism had led some of you to expect. But they are enough and more than enough, to prevent any one of you going away disappointed. If there have been those among you who had desired an ampler triumph, they should derive consolation from the fact that they have worked hard to obtain it, for to undertake great and difficult things, to strive bravely for their realizations, nay, even to have earnestly desired them, are in themselves just claims to commendation. . . .

After a few words of farewell, the secretary declared the Second International American Conference closed.<sup>100</sup>

## X

The Second Conference differed from the First in that it profited . . . by the experience acquired in 1889, and did not strive to limit itself to making more or less effective recommendations to the continental governments, but proceeded to write, discuss, approve and sign statutes and conventions so appropriately prepared that they could be submitted to the legislatures and treaty making bodies of

<sup>100</sup> *S. I. A. C.*, pp. 401-413. A correspondent at the conference remarked after its conclusion, "The conference has finally closed its labors with many demonstrations of satisfaction and extreme good fellowship. Latin and Anglo Americans have embraced each other after the true Spanish fashion literally throwing themselves into one another's arms, and even Chile and Peru forgot all their differences in the general good feeling and relief and joy at the close of the final session of the Conference". Dawley, "The Results of the Pan American Congress", *Outlook*, February 22, 1902, p. 475. See also J. B. Scott, "Work of the Second Peace Conference". *American Journal of International Law*, II. No. 1.



America for ratification, and so be converted into obligatory transactions of an international character.<sup>101</sup>

In general, however, the conference seemed by some to be much less confident of its ability to settle difficult problems out of hand than was the first. It was more inclined to commit special propositions to special expert congresses to be called hereafter. It was less radical in the actions which it took on arbitration. . . .<sup>102</sup>

In an article entitled "What can the Pan American Congress accomplish" published in June, 1900, William Eleroy Curtis asserted that

The approaching Conference in Mexico offers the United States an opportunity to allay . . . apprehensions and to confirm the faith of one's friends and supporters in the Southern Republics by declaring a liberal, friendly and permanent policy to govern our future relations with them. They have a right to know what to expect from us. We are the elder brother in the great family of nations and the rest look to us for example, encouragement and consolation.<sup>103</sup>

As the time for holding the conference drew nearer, papers all over the country began asking if the conference really would convene. The reasons for this were found in the controversy arising out of the interpretation of the tentative program and the attitude of Chile and of the other South American states opposing that country.<sup>104</sup>

After the congress had actually met, the press of the United States began to consider what good might be expected from the congress. Some saw an advantage to be derived by

<sup>101</sup> "The Pan American Conferences and their Significance." *Supplement to the Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1906, p. 10

<sup>102</sup> O. K. Davis, "Results of the Pan American Congress", *Worlds Work*, April, 1902, p. 1967.

<sup>103</sup> *Gunton's Magazine* June 1900, pp. 505-506. See also W. C. Fox, "The Next Pan American Conference", *The Forum*, November, 1900.

<sup>104</sup> See *New York Nation*, August 1, 1901; *The Detroit Tribune*, May 21, 1901; *Chicago Record-Herald*, May 21, 1901; *New Orleans Times Democrat*, October 14, 1901; *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, June 11, 1901; *San Francisco Call*, June 10, 1901.

the United States,<sup>105</sup> while others could see no benefit whatsoever that might come from such a gathering.<sup>106</sup> But there were many who saw an universal good arising from a meeting of the Republics of America. *Harpers Weekly* considered the agreement over sanitation of greatest benefit to humanity.<sup>107</sup> Most observers believed that the action taken in regard to arbitration and the Hague Convention constituted the greatest steps forward.<sup>108</sup> As for the general results of the conference, these were admirably summed up in the report of the United States delegates addressed to the Secretary of State under date of April 24, 1902.

It is no reflection on the First International American Conference to say that the work of the Second Conference will be of more practical value to the governments interested than was that of the First Conference. This is true partly because the present Conference with the example of its predecessor before it has been able to improve upon its methods, but largely for the reason that, as a result of the First

<sup>105</sup> The New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, October 20, 1901, p. 4, col. 3, believed that the United States would profit by the conference commercially and industrially. But it added, the conference "is not called for any selfish motives of commercial development but from the highest motive of preventing" inter-American wars. It was universally agreed in this country that the conference was not called by the United States for selfish reasons.

<sup>106</sup> The New York *Nation* on October 31, 1901, asserted that the conference was a "great bore. Nothing practical has ever come out of such gatherings from the unlucky congress of Panama, so why go on holding them merely for the sake of letting loose new floods of unmeaning gush?" See also *Harper's Weekly*, December 14, 1901. The Chicago *Tribune* on December 14, 1901 asserted that the delegates were "talking much but doing little". See *Harper's Weekly* also for January 18, 1902.

<sup>107</sup> This was cited as an "encouraging indication that the Conference will not end in utter futility" (*Harper's Weekly*, January 18, 1902). See also, New Orleans *Times Democrat*, October 30, 1901, and *Literary Digest*, December 28, 1901.

<sup>108</sup> New York *Tribune*, January 19, 1902, p. 8 and January 23, 1902. During the conference, President Roosevelt asserted, thinking of the various subjects considered, "we view with likely interest and keen hopes of beneficial results the proceedings of the Pan American Congress". (Annual Message December 3, 1901, in Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the President*, IX, 6677.) Secretary of State Hay, when the conference ended, expressed his appreciation of its work in a telegram, New York *Tribune*, February 2, 1902; *S. I. A. C.*, p. 401.

Conference it had ready at its command the machinery of the International Bureau of American Republics for putting its resolutions into immediate effect.

That the relation between the American Republics has been improved as a result of the Conference cannot be doubted. The intimate daily association, for nearly four months, of leading men from every American Republic of itself tended toward this result. Delegates learned that while existing international relations made differences of opinion inevitable . . . they all had many interests in common. As a result, toleration for the opinion of others was shown by delegates to a marked degree, and the sessions of the Conference were remarkably free from acrimonious debates and reflections on the policies of delegations or their governments.

The adhesion of all of the American Republics to the Hague Convention and the forming of the project of a treaty for the arbitration of pecuniary claims will stand as the most notable advance that has been made in the direction of the pacific settlement of International disputes between the nations of the Western Hemisphere, and the action of the Conference on matters relating to trade and commerce was such as will tend to increase the prosperity of each country and bring it into closer trade relations with all of the other American Republics. The good that will follow the action of the Conference must depend, in great measure, upon the coöperation of the several governments in making the acts of the Conference effective. . . .<sup>109</sup>

Quite naturally the press of Hispanic America displayed a keen interest in the preliminary discussion over the tentative program, and later, in the conference proper. It was asserted that in Brazil the attitude of the presidential candidates regarding the Pan American Conference carried great weight

<sup>109</sup> *Sen. Doc.*, 330, 57th Cong. 1st Sess., pp. 26-27. The views of the delegates were echoed widely in this country. See "Pan American Conferences and their Significance", *Supplement to the Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, May 1906, p. 11. See also an article entitled "Results of the Congress of Mexico" in *Current Literature*, March, 1902, pp. 263-265; John W. Foster, "Pan American Diplomacy" *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1902, p. 489; *New York Nation*, February 10, 1902, p. 6. An excellent review of the work of the Conference is by J. C. Williams, in the *Independent* for May 13, 1902.



with the voters.<sup>110</sup> It has been seen that Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru considered that the United States had betrayed their cause in regard to compulsory arbitration. Consequently, some Hispanic Americans held that the United States would constitute a menace at the conference.<sup>111</sup> On the other hand, certain members of the press could not acquire this view. *La Noticia* of Rio de Janeiro believed that the United States had no ulterior motive in inviting the Hispanic American nations to the conference and there was consequently no ground to fear that country.<sup>112</sup> The *Mexican Herald* asserted that the idea of holding a conference was an admirable one.

<sup>110</sup> *Literary Digest*, August 17, 1901, p. 201. See quotations from *El Pais* (Buenos Aires) in *New York Tribune*, July 28, 1901, and from *La Prensa* and *La Tribuna* of Buenos Aires in *New York Herald*, June 10, 1901.

<sup>111</sup> *El Mundo*, Havana, Cuba, believed that all of the Hispanic American states should unite against the United States, otherwise they will disappear "at the hands of a hybrid monster of Saxon contenance, which has hurled himself against it with tooth and nail" (*Literary Digest*, September 7, 1901, p. 275). *La Tribuna Populár*, Montevideo, expressed a rather general attitude of South Americans, when it asserted that the United States is a peril to Hispanic America. The United States is "in the preparatory phase of imperialism" and the calling of a congress is for ulterior reasons being a "natural unfolding of North American policy" (*Literary Digest*, November 2, 1901, p. 544). *El Mercurio*, of Valparaiso, Chile asserted that the United States must be watched constantly and suspiciously especially whenever it causes a Pan American conference to be called "in order that there be no discussion, nor intention of discussion of subjects other than those intended on the Program" (*Literary Digest*, November 2, 1901, p. 544). *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), *La Lei* (Santiago, Chile), and *La Descensión* (Havana, Cuba) asserted that a "Yankee Peril" was plainly seen (*Literary Digest*, July 13, 1901, p. 51). The *Buenos Aires Herald*, asserted that South America does not sincerely love the United States; "only in oration is this consuming love of the American republic set forth" (*Mexican Herald*, December 1, 1901). See an eight page pamphlet by "Ignotus" entitled "*Un proyecto de Ligo Hispano Americano*" published in Boston, October, 1901. The writer believed such a league should be discussed at the conference in order that a combination might be formed against the United States. B. Vicuña Subercaseaux, (*Los Congresos Pan Americanos*, Santiago, Chile, 1906), attacked the United States as the enemy of Hispanic America, charging that the United States called the First and Second Conference in order to benefit its commerce. "There were two forces that the United States employed toward the Southern Republics, one of moral order, the other of material necessity" (p. 389). From a desire to exercise a "generous tutelage" the United States had advanced to the place of aggressor (pp. 34-39 *passim*).

<sup>112</sup> *Literary Digest*, November 2, 1901, p. 544.

Every time the Western Nations get together by means of their delegates the further removed is the red spectre of war. . . .<sup>113</sup>

The question of arbitration had been given a great deal of publicity in connection with the program and when the matter was discussed in the conference very little new was said in the press.<sup>114</sup>

As to the beneficial results arising from such a meeting, it was asserted that the conference furnished

proof to Europe and to the world, that all the countries of this continent recognize that they have interests in common and that their divisions are neither so deep nor so radical as to keep them apart in matters where those interests are concerned. They proclaim to the world that Pan Americanism is recognized as a paramount ideal. . . . This is the real significance of the Conference.<sup>115</sup>

Many divergent views were taken of the conference by Europeans. Some of them believed that the meeting would be a failure.<sup>116</sup> Apparently part of the European press did not appreciate the significance of the conference or misunderstood its motives,<sup>117</sup> and there was a constant tendency in Europe to associate the conference with the Monroe Doctrine.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>113</sup> *Mexican Herald*, October 20, 1901.

<sup>114</sup> See *La Estrella de Panamá*, cited in *Literary Digest*, November 23, 1901, and the *Star and Herald*, of Panama, of November 30, 1901.

<sup>115</sup> *Mexican Herald*, January 21, 1902. After the conference had met, the attitude of Hispanic America became more benevolent toward the United States (T. R. Dawley "At the Pan American Congress", *Outlook*, December 28, 1901, pp. 1067-1069). By the time the conference adjourned, the hostility had practically disappeared and the results of the delegates's labors were generally praised throughout Hispanic America.

<sup>116</sup> *La Época* (Madrid) in *Literary Digest*, November 2, 1901, p. 544.

<sup>117</sup> *La Gaceta Comercial* (Mexico City), on October 29, 1901 greatly deplored the fact that Europe did not understand what was taking place at the conference. During the period of the conference the *London Times* did not devote a single editorial to the subject.

<sup>118</sup> *New York Tribune*, May 24, and July 18, 1901. The *New Orleans Times-Democrat* (October 20, 1901) asserted that "the favorite European idea is that the Congress will proclaim an advanced Monroe Doctrine that will shut all European countries out, and that will result in a federation of the Several American

Further, some saw behind the calling of the conference the desire on the part of the United States to increase its influence in Hispanic America.<sup>119</sup> By some, Chile was looked upon as the agent which would disrupt the conference,<sup>120</sup> while others, taking a hostile attitude toward the United States, denounced that country as being the real cause for dissension at the conference.<sup>121</sup> Again there were those who saw that a real good would come from such a gathering of American states.<sup>122</sup> And

Republics under the leadership and protection of the United States". See also *Mexican Herald*, of October 7, 1901.

<sup>119</sup> This is the view held by a writer in the London *Saturday Review* cited in the *Mexican Herald*, October 25, 1901. *La Época* (Madrid), believed that the calling of the conference would "sound the knell of South American independence" (*Literary Digest*, November 2, 1901, p. 544). The *Journal des Débats* (Paris), asserted that "a regular campaign of political and economic exploitation "of Hispanic America by the United States will occur at the conference (*Literary Digest*, November 23, 1901, p. 656). The *Temps* (Paris), affirmed that the South American states must patch up their difficulties in order to unite and withstand United States aggression (*Literary Digest*, November 2, 1901, p. 544). See also *La Gaceta Comercial* (Mexico City), for November 25, and November 26, 1901, quoting *La Unión Ibero Americana* (Madrid). It was reported that the marquis de Prat, Spain's minister, was sent by Spain to watch the conference proceedings and that the clerical and pro-Spanish press desired to "inject a great deal of Spanish-American spirit into the Congress" possibly to counteract the influence of the United States (New York *Tribune*, October 27, 1901). Besides the papers mentioned, the following considered that the United States constituted a peril to Hispanic America: *La Época* (Madrid), *Kreuz-Zeitung* (Berlin), *Fremdenblatt* (Vienna)—cited in *Literary Digest*, November 23, 1901, p. 656; *España Moderna* (Madrid), *The Advertiser* (London, Canada)—*Literary Digest*, August 10, 1901, p. 174. Also *Economiste Française* (Paris), *Saturday Review* (London), *Events* (Ottawa, Canada), and *South American Journal* (London)—*Literary Digest*, July 13, 1901, p. 51.

<sup>120</sup> London *Spectator*, quoted in *Literary Digest*, January 25, 1902, p. 125. The *Literary Digest* of January 25, 1902, p. 125, asserted that "the Chilean attitude attracts more attention in the foreign press than any other single feature of the congress, excepting the position of the United States".

<sup>121</sup> *Unión Ibero Americana* and *La Época* (both of Madrid) cited in *Literary Digest*, January 25, 1902, p. 125. The former asserted that if the United States would let Hispanic America alone all would be well.

<sup>122</sup> The *Journal des Débats* (Paris) believed that the conference would settle all differences between Chile on the one hand and Argentina, Peru, and Bolivia on the other (*Literary Digest*, August 10, 1901, p. 173). The *Novoe Vremya* (St. Petersburg) while acknowledging that little good had come from the previous conference



finally there were those who feared that a menace to Europe would arise from the conference proceedings.<sup>123</sup>

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asserted that the fact that the idea still lives is important (*New York Tribune*, October 27, 1901). For a good, clear, impartial discussion of the conference, see J. Ch. de Bournmond, "Le Congrès Pan Américaine de Mexique" in *Journal des Économistes* (Paris), sec. 5, Vol. 40 (1902), pp. 387-391.

<sup>123</sup> A manufacturer in Vienna on October 24, 1901, saw in the conference an "American Peril", for Europe. American competition was feared as was also the probability that the American States would form a Pan American customs union (*New York Nation*, October 31, 1901).

## DOCUMENT

### AN ATTEMPTED INDIAN ATTACK ON THE MANILA GALLEON<sup>1</sup>

#### INTRODUCTION

The martyrdom of Father Tamaral and Father Carranco at the hands of the barbarous Indians of Lower California is a melancholy incident of the heroic endeavor of the Jesuits to claim and control the barren wastes of this region. This tragic occurrence exemplifies the profoundly discouraging nature of their task in a bleak, almost waterless country amidst the debased tribes of natives who inhabited it. The general uprising of the latter in 1734 resulted not only in the murder of the two missionaries and the paralyzing of the work of civilization throughout the whole peninsula but also in seriously threatening the security of one at least of the valuable galleons which plied their slow and tortuous course from Manila to Acapulco.

The Pericues, Guaicuros, and Cora tribes of the southern extremity of Lower California offered little encouragement to the efforts to civilize them. Their indolence and vice-ridden condition made the work of the missionaries progress slowly. Polygamy was one of the chief problems with which the latter had to contend for the preponderance of women among the Indians made even the feminine portion of the population very adverse to those puzzling doctrines of monogamy and the sanctity of marriage which the white strangers earnestly persisted in teaching. And the perversity of the natives was

<sup>1</sup> The authorities consulted in preparing this introduction were: Xavier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*; H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States*; Francisco Clavigero, *Historia de la antigua o baja California*; Father Zephyrin Englehardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*; Alexander Forbes, *History of Upper and Lower California*; W. Gleeson, *History of the Catholic Church of California*; T. H. Hittell, *History of California*; Miguel Vanegas, *Natural and Civil History of California*.

equally evident in other customs all of which moved the worthy father superior to write to the viceroy in some exasperation stating that

these Indians are the kind that enter into the Eternal Feast only by "pushes".

While the invitation to the "Eternal Feast" lay with the church, he added naïvely, the "pushing" properly belonged to the royal troops.<sup>2</sup> In 1723, shortly after the establishment of the missions of La Paz, Dolores, and Santiago, and again in 1725 and 1729, it had been found expedient to dispatch a company of soldiers on a tour of the southern region in order to enhance the value of the Christian doctrine in the eyes of the recalcitrant natives.

Father Carranco had occasion to depose a certain chief named Botón, in 1733, because of his failure to lead a more exemplary life. Aggrieved at this affront to his dignity Botón fell in with a mulatto,<sup>3</sup> Chicori by name, who was smarting under a reprimand administered by Father Tamaral for stealing a girl from the San José mission. These two malcontents attempted to waylay and murder the latter missionary as part of a general insurrection but their plot was frustrated by the timely warning given their intended victim by loyal Indians. Temporarily balked in their plan they expressed repentance for their evil intentions and Father Tamaral, perhaps too readily, pardoned them. Thus, for a time, the danger of an uprising subsided.

When Father Tamaral returned to his mission at Cape San Lucas after this adventure, he was approached by excited members of his flock who reported that a large ship had an-

<sup>2</sup> Father Superior Clemente Guillén to the Viceroy, October 23, 1734, in Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, A. G. I.

<sup>3</sup> The presence of mulattoes in Lower California is accounted for by the fact that a considerable number of negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos had come over from the mainland as pearl divers. Individuals left behind by Spanish ships and even those of other nationalities had all combined to form a considerable mongrel element among the native population.



chored in a nearby bay. Upon investigation this proved to be the Manila galleon with the majority of its crew, as usual, stricken with scurvy. A long-boat had been put ashore in quest of water and available supplies. This was presumably a welcome break in the drab monotony of the life of the good father and, no doubt, he was happy to collect all the fruit and greenstuff at hand and kill some of his cattle in order to restore the health of the sick. Several of the latter were left in his care after the departure of the galleon. The commander of this vessel in turn was delighted by this good fortune and immediately informed the viceroy of it upon reaching Acapulco. A decree was issued promptly making San Bernabé, in the vicinity of Cape San Lucas, a regular stopping place for the "Nao de Filipinas".

During the following year the incipient rebellion, headed by various discontented local chiefs, broke out into a general conflagration. As already intimated, Father Carranco was murdered on October 1, 1734, with all the obscene and shocking indignities that the fiendish minds of the natives could invent. Three days later, Father Tamaral was surprised and suffered a similar horrible fate while numerous neophytes were put to death. Chaotic conditions soon prevailed spreading death and desolation over the whole peninsula and forcing all the missionaries to withdraw hastily to the refuge of Loreto where there was a presidial force.

Such was the condition of affairs into which the returning galleon of 1734 unwittingly intruded and from which it narrowly escaped disaster. The attempt of the revolting Indians to get possession of this vessel and to destroy its crew and passengers is described in the document which follows in translation. The event was of such great import that the viceroy, Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta, felt moved to report it to his majesty, the king.

Authorities consulted give varying accounts of this incident though the differences are largely restricted to minor

details. Bancroft briefly summarizes the versions of Vanegas and Clavigero by stating:

The Manila Galleon, the *San Cristobal*, had approached San Bernabé expecting the same hospitable treatment that had welcomed the ship the preceding year. Though the prearranged signals were not seen, the captain sent a boat with thirteen men ashore, all of whom were massacred. A larger force landed, found the murderers breaking up the boat for her iron, killed some of them and carried off prisoners to Acapulco.<sup>4</sup>

Alegre's account<sup>5</sup> more closely approximates the one here translated as it was based upon the captain's report of which the viceroy probably made use in the following document.

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#### TRANSLATION<sup>6</sup>

The viceroy of New Spain gives an account to your majesty of what happened at Cape San Lucas, a mission of California. When the Manila galleon put ashore there to take on water the Indians of that island concealed the fact that they were in revolt and declared that they were willing to agree to anything that might be asked of them. They did not reveal that they had murdered Fathers Nicolas Tamaral and Lorenzo Joseph Carranco three months before but stated that the mission father was not there at that time but twenty leagues away visiting another missionary who was ill. By means of this trickery they murdered twelve sailors of the above mentioned galleon who were burned before the treachery of the Indians could be comprehended. According to the statement of four Indians on board who were brought to Acapulco, it was the intention of their kinsmen to destroy the whole crew of the ship. The viceroy states that he had judicial proceedings instituted in order to establish these crimes and that he is not making the report with all the documents as the case is

<sup>4</sup> *The North Mexican States*, I. 457.

<sup>5</sup> *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, III. 257-259.

<sup>6</sup> A. G. I., Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29. Expedientes sobre el descubrimiento, conquista y Misiones de California. Años, 1602-1798

still incomplete; he will do this as soon as it is ready together with the decision which he makes.

Sir:

The commander of the Manila galleon, Don Mateo de Zumaldi, reported to me from on board his ship that he was short of water, wood, and ballast when he reached the coast of California. In order to get a supply of everything necessary he called a meeting of his officers at which their needs were discussed. By general agreement it was decided that it would be well to go to the San José River where other galleons in similar straits had obtained supplies. This was particularly true of the galleon of the preceding year under Commander Don Geronimo Montero who, to the great satisfaction of the missionary father, had left his sick men at the mission on this river. Commander Mateo de Zumalde reported that he had sent the launch under the command of the third pilot to take soundings and to reconnoiter the bay wherever he might expect to sight the galleon. This was done and after firing a cannon-shot as a signal he went to convoy the large vessel leaving eight men on shore who remained there as they were unable to embark because of the heavy sea. The third pilot reported to the commander that he had found a large number of Indians on the beach who approached as soon as they recognized the Spaniards. One crafty fellow in particular, Geronimo by name, said that he was a servant of the missionary posted there by the latter to watch for the arrival of the galleon; he had instructed the native to notify him so that he could supply the ship with whatever it needed. The Indian declared that the mission father was twenty leagues away visiting another who was ill but that word had already been sent of the arrival of the galleon.

With this information in mind, the commander had done everything possible to anchor in the above mentioned bay but had not succeeded in doing so on account of the adverse weather. On the following day this was accomplished at some distance out. In a short while, however, his cable gave out and he was obliged to set sail for another bay nine leagues away called Cape San Lucas and here he dropped anchor. He dispatched three of the Indians and another who voluntarily joined them to notify the missionary of the whereabouts of the ship so that he could send on the eight men left in the other bay at San José River.

Soon after the departure of the four Indians, three others came and with them Geronimo, previously mentioned. The latter asserted that Father Nicolas Tamaral had sent him to ascertain whether the ship was anchored in this bay or not. It struck the commander as curious that the missionary had not written some message and he questioned the Indians concerning this. They satisfied his inquiry by replying that the father had returned feeling somewhat indisposed but that the commander could rest assured that the missionary would be there in a short while with the men left behind on the river. The commander did not then suspect anything wrong but, noting the long delay, the thought occurred to him that the Indians were acting rather suspiciously and might have been up to some mischief. For this reason, he set some men ashore with guns for the protection of the sick and those who were getting a supply of water. This was a prudent measure and was the means of preventing the destruction of the greater part of the ship's crew and passengers; on the following day two bands of six hundred Indians armed with bows and arrows put in appearance.

Although the commander first thought that they were merely accompanying the missionary, he was quickly disabused of this idea by the arrival on board of Geronimo and some of his companions. They declared that the mission father was coming in the afternoon with the eight men and that they had come ahead with the object of offering any assistance that might be desired. Notwithstanding this offer, the commander decided to hold eight of the Indians on board and send reinforcements to the men on shore; he also gave orders that the sick should be brought on board the ship and that the other men should take proper precautions. When the Indians with him on the ship saw these arrangements five of them leaped over the side, four of them escaping by swimming while one was caught. With this new indication, the commander signaled the men to return to the ship in the best order possible. When the Indians on land perceived this move they uttered a war-whoop and at the same time let fly a cloud of arrows to which the men in the launch replied firing several volleys with their guns. As conditions were favorable, they pushed off from the beach to a distance where they could not be molested by the arrows. As they were coming aboard with two sailors wounded, though not dangerously, it could be seen that an Indian chief leading his



warriors had been killed and others were wounded. The rebellious natives kept shouting for Geronimo who was on board the galleon as they evidently regarded him as their leader.

There was no longer any doubt in the commander's mind after this incident that the Indians were actually in revolt and he accused those that were still on board as prisoners of this treason. The latter, without any compulsion whatever, then related all that had happened. Begging for forgiveness they confessed that three months before they had murdered Fathers Nicolas Tamaral and Lorenzo Joseph Carranco, missionaries in the towns of Soledad and Santiago; although they had tried to do the same thing to Father Segismundo Taraval, the latter had escaped on a small boat in company with a corporal of the presidial garrison. The Indians had killed the two missionaries with arrows and then had burned their bodies as well as the churches and the images; they had spared only a Spanish woman named María, a sister, and two daughters, saying that she was the wife of a soldier named Santiago Villalobos. The latter had been left in company with an Augustine friar by Commander Don Geronimo Montero the year before as the ecclesiastic was ill. The Indians confessed that later they had killed and burned the eight men who had landed at San José River and had treated four others whom they met on the road in a similar fashion. It had been their intention to kill all the men on board the galleon, for Geronimo had declared that it was defenseless, and for this purpose the band of Indians had come down to Cape San Lucas. As they observed, however, that the men of the ship did have weapons the Indians had concluded to attack by night. These native prisoners then asked to be allowed to rejoin their companions on shore but this request was denied and they were carried off as captives.

When this letter was sent to the fiscal he requested that depositions be taken from the Indians on the ship in an endeavor to ascertain judicially all the circumstances concerning the murders of the men as well as their reasons for these crimes which had all been related extrajudicially; they were to find out who were the chiefs who incited the rebellion and especially regarding Geronimo. The castellan of Acapulco would be given sufficient authority for this purpose and should send on the proceedings so as to seek what was a just and proper punishment for such wickedness.

The castellan accepted the report with the testimony of five witnesses who were on board the ship and present in California as soon

as the necessary commission was received. The evidence was corroborated and everything declared was affirmed. Likewise depositions were taken from the four Indians prisoners through an interpreter; these did not vary from what they had stated extrajudicially to the commander and what the latter had said. Notwithstanding this, the case is still in the condition indicated, *i.e.*, incomplete, but I have regarded it as my duty to report to your majesty concerning the matter. I am deferring the complete report with all the proceedings until they are verified and decided. I have desired to report this affair alone apart from other subjects. Even though the question of the murders of the missionaries, the uprising of the Indians, and the reinforcement of the majority of the presidial garrisons is well appreciated by the *dependencia*, I have separated this incident in order to report it aside from other topics.

May God protect the royal Catholic person of your majesty which is so important for the Christian world!

JUAN ANTONIO VIZARRÓN Y EQUIARRETA,

Mexico City,  
April 23, 1735.

Archbishop of Mexico.  
[Rubric.]

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Life of Miranda.* By WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Illinois. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929. Two vols. Pp. xviii, 327; x, 306. \$10.00.)

The author of these two volumes has long been recognized as one of the most prolific and scholarly writers in the field of Hispanic American history. This is probably the most entertaining of his numerous publications. In his preface he modestly and briefly reviews his preparation for his chosen field under the instruction of F. J. Turner and E. G. Bourne, whom he thus honors by giving them credit for starting him toward his goal. In referring to his special studies regarding Miranda he mentions his well-known and highly appreciated erudite doctoral dissertation, also devoted to the career of this apostle of Spanish-American emancipation whom he characterizes in the conclusion of this new publication as the morning star of the Spanish-American revolution, and, elsewhere in the same chapter, the John the Baptist of Spanish-American Redemption. His preface recounts briefly his search for, discovery of, and use of the long lost extensive collection of Miranda manuscripts, from which, chiefly, the intimate information contained in this biography is drawn.

It is questionable whether the writer's painstaking review of the more intimate phases of the life of the Venezuelan precursor of South American liberation has increased or decreased the reader's respect and admiration for the object of his study. This is naturally a minor consideration to a scholarly historian, whose purpose should of course be to paint a faithful rather than a beautiful picture. Miranda's career as here reconstructed is a mingling of high idealism and sordid practices. The reader can hardly avoid thinking that Miranda's opposition to Spain, in the beginning at least, may have been due less to an innate love of liberty than to a fear of being punished for having engaged in smuggling while in a position of trust as a Spanish officer. Wherever he traveled he fascinated his hosts by his pleasing personality and brilliant conversation, displaying an ostentatious erudition and always a burning zeal for human liberty, especially for the

people of South America; but there is a lingering suspicion that he was at least partially motivated by a selfish desire to continue to enjoy their hospitality without cost to himself or to receive liberal donations from well-to-do or politically powerful admirers to meet the expense of his intensive journeyings and chosen studies; and he was a tireless and an apt student and an insatiable book purchaser. Apparently never having a fixed income for any considerable period or any remunerative employment after his inglorious exit from the Spanish military service, except when as a military adventurer he sold his services where they found a market, yet he managed to live usually in comfort, sometimes in apparent luxury, at the private expense of admiring or sympathizing philanthropists or on funds drawn for the purpose from national treasuries by designing politicians, chiefly British, in the anticipation that they might sooner or later have a Spanish axe to grind at which Miranda's services would be useful. Usually he was in embarrassed financial circumstances and frequently appealed to long-suffering friends or political contributors to save him from the clutches of merciless creditors. Virtually an international mendicant he traveled from country to country through North America and Europe for nearly three decades, never, however, for long at least, losing sight of his purpose to free the Spanish American colonies from the domination of Spain. Whatever its genesis, it was genuine and persistent.

The first volume of this publication opens with a study of the ancestry and of the early life of the subject to his departure from Venezuela in 1771 to enter the Spanish military service. The second chapter, entitled "Following the Spanish Flag," traces his career in that service—the most notable portion of which was in the West Indies fighting against England during the war for the independence of the English colonies—until he left it in disgrace in 1782. His "Tour of the United States", the subject of the third chapter, occupied about a year subsequent to the close of the war against England. During this tour he established many close and enduring friendships with influential men of the new nation and imbibed their enthusiasm for liberty and popular government. The remaining eleven chapters of the first volume follow his travels, sojournings, intrigues, and pleadings for assistance in Europe—chiefly Russia, France, and England—from 1784 to 1806, when he made his first futile attempt to revolutionize Venezuela.



The first chapter of the second volume, "A Climax in English Policy", studies Miranda's activities, or inactivity, during the year that he tarried in the British West Indies following the fiasco of 1806, his return to England, and his renewal of intrigues with high British officials to induce them to finance his projects for revolutionizing South America, concluding with the sudden abandonment by those officials of their nearly matured plans to grant him liberal assistance when news reached England in 1808 of the Spanish liberal revolt against Napoleonic domination which caused them to decide to assist instead of attack Spain. Two chapters follow devoted to Miranda's journalistic propaganda disseminated from his retreat in England to spread a spirit of revolt throughout Spanish America against either the threatened extension of Napoleon's domination over the Spanish colonies or the continued domination of a liberated Spain. A chapter on "The Return of the Exile" to his native country after the Venezuelan revolt of 1810 is followed by one entitled "Venezuela's Declaration of Independence" and another on "Problems of the New Nation", in both of which Miranda had an opportunity to apply some of the political theories which had occupied no small place in his lifelong studies. "The First Dictator of Venezuela" is the title of the chapter which studies the climax of Miranda's career, the realization for a few months in 1812 of his ambitious dream to be the head of the government of independent Venezuela. A chapter on "The Fateful Capitulation of San Mateo" precedes one entitled "Captivity in Spanish Dungeons", which sadly terminates the checkered career of the famous Venezuelan forerunner of Spanish American emancipation. In a final masterly chapter on "The Man and His Rôle in History", Dr. Robertson gives an unimpassioned and unprejudiced estimate of the strong points and weak ones as well of his hero.

An exhaustive analytical bibliography covers twenty pages; and a double-column index fills thirty pages. It would not be impossible to point to some flaws in the workmanship of the author. Who ever produced a publication that had none? But they are so few and are so overwhelmingly outweighed by its unusual merits that this reviewer prefers to leave them for others to expose.

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*The People and Politics of Latin America.* By MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS, Professor of History, Goucher College. (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1930. Pp. vii, 845. \$4.60.)

Professor Williams's text is the most extensive work of its kind which has appeared in the English language. It also contains the most numerous and, on the whole, the best maps—nineteen in all—illustrating the subject in hand.

The volume is divided into thirty-three chapters. Three of them deal with the geographic setting, the native races, and the Hispanic background; eight are devoted to the conquest and the colonial period; three are occupied with a survey of the independence movement, carrying the story down through the emancipation of Cuba; and the rest are devoted to the national period in the various countries, including social evolution, literature, and art, as well as political history.

In general, the facts are well selected and presented in a clear and agreeable style. The reader can hardly fail to be favorably impressed and even stimulated by the appropriate quotations at the opening of each chapter. To the present reader they appear to be one of the most attractive features of the book. It should also be added that the bibliography is ample and well chosen.

It is believed that few inaccuracies will be found in the work. Professor Williams has mastered the facts which she attempts to present. Some experts may complain of omissions. Teachers who emphasize the colonial epoch will probably feel that inadequate attention is given to the history of the period between 1550 and 1750; those who are accustomed to dwell upon contemporary Hispanic America may object to the comparative neglect of the last ten years; students who, like the present reviewer, place much stress on the foreign relations of the area will not be entirely pleased with the space devoted to this phase of the subject. Moreover, historians with the philosophizing habit will surely point out the author's failure to attempt illuminating interpretations, and there will be a few who will complain of the lack of illustrations or will prefer not to have the national period of each country presented separately. To all of these Miss Williams may fling out the challenge to write a better text and, if any accept, they will find how truly difficult is the task.

In brief, *The People and Politics of Latin America* is a sound and useful volume, with valuable bibliography—even on neglected phases

of the subject—and excellent maps, but without any illustrations to appeal to the less mature students who often require the enticement of pictures of national heroes and national scenes. One will look in vain for even a Bolívar portrait or monument. But such illustrations may be found elsewhere and the work perhaps does not suffer seriously on account of their absence. It represents a vast amount of labor, displays good judgment on controverted issues, and merits a sincere welcome on the part of all who are interested in the field.

J. FRED RIPPY.

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*Liberty and Despotism in Spanish America.* By CECIL JANE, with a Preface by Salvador Madariaga. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Pp. vii, 177. \$3.50.)

Mr. Jane has presented an interesting view of the underlying causes of the political disturbances which have characterized Spanish America. He resorts to psychology as an explanation both of the struggle for independence and of the subsequent era of disorder.

He maintains that the war of independence was due not to French or Anglo-American ideas of democracy, but to love of liberty inherent in the Spanish people; that this war was neither a revolt against the mother country nor an attempt to found republics, but rather the result of a desire to recover a government more in harmony with the traditions of the Spanish race—traditions violated by the Bourbons, and especially by the reformer monarch Charles III. The war itself was largely a civil combat between Spanish Americans who agreed in purpose but disagreed as to method, one side believing that independence was necessary and the other that it was not. The Bourbons never fully identified themselves with Spain nor understood the Spaniards. If Ferdinand VII. had understood Spanish character he could have pacified the colonials and saved his America empire. He resorted to armed coercion when he should have employed persuasion and conciliation.

The author contends that two fundamental characteristics of Spanish psychology are love of liberty and a desire for perfection which results in the admiration of a strong government. In this psychology he finds the explanation of the disorders of the national

period. Driven now by their love of freedom and now by their insistence on strong government, the Spanish Americans have vacillated between anarchy and despotism.

In the brief concluding chapter of his work Mr. Jane sounds a note of optimism. Immigration, better communications, and the growth of wealth he expects to bring relief from violence. The last sentences of the work read as follows:

Every approach toward fuller economic development serves to curb the spirit of unrest which is natural to those who have little to lose from restlessness. Increased prosperity with the resultant increase of capital can but make for greater calm. The race will continue to seek a solution of its political problem, but it will be sought less tempestuously, although not less sincerely.

Thus Mr. Jane presents an interesting thesis; but the proof is far from convincing. Few sources or secondary authorities are cited, no bibliography is presented, and the reader is inclined to doubt whether the author has mastered the facts. The work is a stimulating essay, written for the most part in an excellent style; but it is, strictly speaking, not history.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Duke University.

*American Relations in the Caribbean.* A preliminary issue of Section I of the Annual Survey of American Foreign Relations 1929. Prepared for the Council on Foreign Relations under the direction of CHARLES P. HOWLAND. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. Pp. 329.)

According to the Foreword this book purports to give "a comprehensive and impartial account of American policy in dealing with neighboring territories". The author or authors have done this duty by stringing together much documentary material easily accessible in the government archives and already published in other form. This phase of history has been fully covered by Graham H. Stuart in his *Latin America and the United States*, in which he has told this vitally interesting story in a lively and vivid manner without sacrificing accuracy. Stuart has already used much if not all of the documentary material which is set forth in such a dull way in the book under review. As a source book of American diplomacy in the Caribbean, this volume might be useful if it had been provided with an index. As



it stands, however, a searcher after facts must dig through a mass of material, undigested and ill arranged.

The style in which the book is written is cumbersome and difficult to follow. All sorts of unrelated topics are dealt with in a single paragraph and paragraphs do not follow each other in any logical sequence. Its style and arrangement remind one of a typical report by a college sophomore.

Three are three chapters dealing with the relations of the United States to each of the three island republics and six chapters covering relations with the six republics of Central America. A chapter devoted specifically to economic interests gives statistics on exports and imports, showing percentages of the share of the United States in Central American trade. This information has been taken from the "last available Department of Commerce figures". This chapter also gives some interesting facts about the banana crop, the United Fruit Co., and United States' investments in Central American railways.

The reviewer had hoped that in the last chapter, "Caribbean Policies and Activities", he might learn what conclusion the book intended should be drawn from all the evidence, statistics, and data through which he had waded. He found that

For the most part United States official activity in the Caribbean has been motivated by canal strategy; for the rest its interventions have been a consequence of the economic enterprise of American citizens as well as of other foreigners rather than hunger for more territory to people or to govern.

Students of Hispanic American history, even those who are still college undergraduates, will scarcely find much of originality in this idea.

A little further on, however, under the heading "Problems of Administration", the book suggests that since the Caribbean countries have sufficient resources to attract American capital; since American capital goes there and, having gone, is not always satisfied with the conditions it finds; and since at its call the United States government so frequently has intervened and will no doubt continue to intervene in behalf of capital; it might be well to train American intervening officials in United States civil service schools especially established for that purpose, so that they will not, through ignorance, continue to make such stupid and fatal blunders as they have made in the past.

This suggestion is, in the opinion of the reviewer, worth something and should receive more prominence in the book than it has.

The volume contains full page outline maps of the island republics and one of part of Central America, printed in black and white. These maps are unusually clear because they contain few names and little, if any, information found in the ordinary map. There is a folded Central America Rainfall Map copied from one copyrighted 1928 by the American Geographical Society of New York, and a double-page folding map of the Caribbean showing air routes in operation, in course of organization, and under survey. There is no index or table of maps.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Lake Forest College.

*The United States and the Caribbean.* By CHESTER LLOYD JONES, HENRY KITTREDGE NORTON, and PARKER THOMAS MOON. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. Pp. xi, 230.)

This volume, the second of the series "American Policies Abroad" published by the University of Chicago Press for the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations, is a symposium on the Caribbean policy of the United States. As in the first volume, on Mexico, the council has sought to give the reader a sound historical statement followed by two widely different points of view.

To Chester Lloyd Jones has fallen the task of tracing the development of the various Caribbean countries. In the brief space allotted to him, he has been able to do little more than sketch their history and touch on the main issues that confront the United States in its relations with that region. The problems of the Caribbean, Professor Jones believes, first became really conspicuous at the opening of the twentieth century which marked the turning point in its history. He might have added in our own history as well, and that the changes in the Caribbean were very largely due to the great economic and political strides which placed the United States in a position of world power. Increased contact brought increased friction. Chronic disorders in government, once ignored, became annoying from the point of view of commercial expansion and naval strategy. Politically immature states could no longer be permitted to stew in their own juice and as a result of the new order of things there developed the so-called

"Caribbean policy of the United States". Professor Jones makes no attempt to clarify it or to discuss it on the basis of its merits. That phase of the subject is left to his two collaborators. His historical sketch is concise and, generally speaking, well balanced. One might disagree somewhat with the proportion of space allotted to the period of manifest destiny. To the mind of the reviewer the two decades before the civil war with their "Black Warrior Affair", "Ostend Manifesto", and numerous filibustering movements, attracted quite as much public interest in the United States as the Platt Amendment, Haiti, Sandino, the Central American court, and other evidences of our interest in that region today.

The second article, "The United States in the Caribbean", written by Henry Kittredge Norton, constitutes the ablest brief defense of the United States in its dealings with the Caribbean area that has thus far appeared in print. The author has gathered together and presented in vigorous language most of the better arguments that can be advanced in justification of this country's activities. As is to be expected in a defensive treatment of this sort, economic motives are generally ignored and others stressed. Yet it is a relief to find the article free from the much overworked arguments of shouldering the white man's burden. While there is some attention given to the benefits bestowed on the region by North American capital, the motives behind the policy of the United States that are emphasized are chiefly naval strategy and defense. These considerations, Mr. Norton contends, give the United States a sufficient interest in the life of the Caribbean peoples to warrant policing their affairs when they get out of hand and in otherwise interposing its action. His defense of our policy is skilful as well as able. The weaknesses in its position are either completely overlooked or carefully minimized. Arguments based on absolute conceptions such as the theory of sovereignty, for instance, are in the opinion of the reviewer all too quickly dismissed as running afoul of the hard facts of life. Such a tendency inevitably leads (as many insist it already has done in the Caribbean) to the development of a unilateral doctrine likely to be based entirely on laws of necessity interpreted in the interest of the dominant power alone.

Professor Moon, in his article, treats the subject of "Self-defense and Unselfish Service" in the Caribbean in his usual vigorous and caustic style. He finds much confusion, uncertainty, and controversy

regarding the so-called Caribbean policy of the United States and so attempts first of all to clarify it. The effort is laudable, for a course of action variously dubbed international philanthropy, manifest destiny, dollar diplomacy, imperialism, etc., deserves the sincere critical investigation to which he subjects it. In his analysis he discovers a paradox: namely, that ours is a "non-imperialistic imperialism". While admitting that there is on the whole no desire for overseas colonial expansion among the people or government of the United States, he points out that "a very real political, military and economic control" has been established. To be sure, outright political annexations have been effected in but two instances but there has been a great extension of other forms of control no less real. The establishment of any sort of control over other nations, Professor Moon insists is, by definition, imperialism, no matter how vigorously statesmen and administration spokesmen may deny it. Nor does he find our penetration fundamentally different from that of other nations. Leases, grants, military intervention, financial control, and informal assistance have been the methods in Africa and Asia and the Caribbean alike. There is no essential difference between Germany in Shantung before the war, Russia and Japan in Port Arthur and the United States in Panama, Guantanamo, or the Great and Little Corn Islands. The tendency to use the Monroe Doctrine as a cloak or justification for a Caribbean policy particularly annoys Professor Moon. He considers it not only casuistry but an error in interpretation, which is especially dangerous since it "prevents Americans from judging on their own merits, the adventures which masquerade under Monroe's name". It is his conviction that if we value the still vital principles of the doctrine we would do well to distinguish sharply between them and the imperialistic, naval, and financial policies in the Caribbean which are distorting and increasing the opposition not only to it, but to everything sponsored by the United States. Only by the adoption of a practical, consistent course in place of the present drifting and aimless policy can a way out of the muddle of non-imperialistic imperialism be found. To this end he suggests a restatement of the Monroe Doctrine, pan-Americanizing dollar diplomacy, scrutiny and supervision of capital ventures in the region by the state department and pan-Americanizing disputed elections. As for national security he believes it would be strengthened if we had the courage to face the



fact that it depends less on navies, canals, and naval bases than on good will.

The zeal of the authors in their effort to stimulate straight thinking on a subject so vital to the destiny of a continent deserves the highest commendation. They have succeeded in presenting with clarity and conciseness the main factors in the problem. In the past the confusion and inconsistency of the policy of the United States in the Caribbean has hampered its leadership in international affairs. This it continues to do. For one thing, it leaves constantly open to doubt the assumption of any responsibility under the Kellogg Pact—the most recent effort sponsored by the United States to hasten the era of enlightenment in international relations. If real security lies in making the pact for the renunciation of war a reality, the United States must agree to develop relationships consistent with its spirit. If, to use the words of Professor Moon, “we knock a hole in it as big as the Caribbean”, the United States lays itself open to such rebukes as that contained in Russia’s recent reply to the ill-advised note on Manchuria.

LEO J. MEYER.

New York University.

*The Imperial Dollar.* By HIRAM MOTHERWELL. (New York: Brentano’s, 1929. Pp. 310.)

In his most recent work Mr. Motherwell describes the emergence of an American empire out of a long conflict of opposing forces which, beginning in the earliest period of our national history, continues to the present. The author views American history as a struggle between an agrarian and industrial society, which in recent years has definitely turned in favor of the latter, forcing upon the United States an imperial rôle whether it likes it or not. As the title indicates, the empire which is in the process of being established is economic rather than political in nature. Its basis is the superfluity of goods created by a superior machine civilization which has in the last few decades placed the United States in a position of financial and industrial dominance. The change manifested itself in a movement from a debtor status to a creditor status. The one left a heritage of isolationist psychology; the other bred an interventionist spirit in international relations. Due to these contradictory forces influencing

the foreign policy of the United States the nation has been severely handicapped in the new rôle it has been called upon to play. With the growing financial and industrial strength of the United States has come an increased interest in peace and stability and, what is more important, the power to impose it, the outstanding characteristic of "imperial sovereignty". The conduct of foreign affairs has often been clumsy and flamboyant. In the Caribbean region many blunders were made that might have been avoided had the United States known how to keep its influence in the background and reserve its interposition for absolute essentials. Cuba, particularly, was needlessly annoyed by intermeddling in its political affairs.

Recent years, however, in the opinion of the author, have seen considerable improvement over the days of dollar diplomacy in dealing with imperial problems. The Dawes plan and its ready acceptance by the world, he points out, is an evidence of greater finesse in such matters. The author is fond of drawing grand parallels between the part played by imperial Rome in organizing the ancient world and that of the United States today. In fact, the enthusiasm with which he develops his analogies is so great that the reader must be constantly on his guard lest he be carried away by it. The similarities between the problems of imperial Rome and those of the United States are undoubtedly great, but it is a mistake to overemphasize them and convey the impression that they are identical or even in preponderance over the differences. Many factors that would probably prove insurmountable obstacles to a world empire today were quite lacking in the ancient world. It is only necessary to draw attention to the spirit of nationalism which in many nations has a religious intensity which would probably cause reactions against economic domination quite as strong as against any form of political control. Furthermore, it is extremely doubtful whether the power to enforce peace can ever dispense with enforcing agencies and rely solely upon economic law and pressure. Mr. Motherwell overlooks the fact that Rome depended heavily upon its legions to impose peace upon the world. In like manner, the United States, if it is destined to follow the road to empire, may find itself more and more called upon to use marines. How much further the public conscience would permit this to go is probably an unanswerable question, but there seem to be some indications that a limit is being reached in that direction. A sentiment against

ruthlessness which Rome could and did ignore in its day is a factor that must be considered in the establishment if not also the maintenance of empire today.

Due to the author's tendency to look at things in a broad perspective, his generalizing and his fondness for analogies, the work he has produced is vulnerable to criticism. At the same time it is deserving of praise. The style, journalistic rather than historical, is vigorous, yet smooth. More important are the thought provoking statements and arguments with which he has packed his narrative. These endow the book with real value to the student of international relations. Although in disagreement with much that is written and suggested, the reviewer must admit that few books recently read on the subject of imperialism have proved quite so stimulating.

LEO J. MEYER.

New York University.

*The Encomienda in New Spain, Forced Native Labor in the Spanish Colonies, 1492-1550.* By LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929. Pp. 297.)

The pious Indian legislation of Isabella, the loosing of the Spanish hounds on the natives of the Caribbean during the regency of Ferdinand, the ameliorative laws of Burgos designed to check the catclysm which was rapidly decimating the population, and the theocratic rule—or rather confusion—of the Jeronimites constitute the West Indian phases of the book. The accidental imposition of a more or less avaricious parasitic class upon natives accustomed to living solely by the tropical bounty of the land, together with strong drink, civil war, disease, pestilence, and race mixtures, explain the vanishing of the natives. The ensuing controversy between the business and reform elements was natural. Among those who first accepted the forced labor system and then wrote with horror, venom, and exaggeration upon the *repartimientos* was Father Bartolomé de las Casas. The devastating arraignment of Spanish spoliation by the "Apostle of the Indies" has made a "thesis of Spanish barbarity . . . irresistibly easy to support and irresistibly attractive to a foreigner". For me this penetrating and brilliantly written analysis of the unmerited influence of Las Casas upon the historians of the Indies, perhaps striking up the exculpating tone of Julián Juderías's *La Leyenda*

*Negra* and Serrano y Sanz's *Orígenes de la Dominación Española en América*, is the high peak of the book. In spite of the highly undermining progression of his thesis, Mr. Simpson himself hardly escapes being caught in the seemingly wind-blown chaff of Las Casas's exaggeration—so pernicious and omnipresent has become the legend. For example on pages 65, 66, 76, 143, and elsewhere, Simpson falls back upon Las Casas for information at least. He has, however, forcefully exploded the black legend for English readers—an accomplishment for which we should be grateful.

Since the New Laws never became a working part of the legislation for the Indies, it seems that too much importance is attached to them in this work. Three years after the passage of these laws, October 20, 1545, Emperor Don Carlos clearly revoked the original legislation against the *encomienda* by declaring that "regardless of that which was designated by the New Laws, Indians may be allotted to the well deserving" (*Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, tomo II, libro 6, título 8, ley 4, p. 222). A more careful scrutiny of the *Recopilación* would have revealed many important facts not emphasized by Simpson. Abuses such as forced Indian labor in mines for curates and *religiosos*, neglect of the defense and instruction of the Indians, appropriation of Indians not of the *encomienda*, Indians being forced to carry Spaniards in hammocks, the *encomenderos'* interference with Indian marriages, and many other facts of significant social import are revealed by the appearance of laws against them.

The laws of the *encomienda* occasioning the most difficulty in enforcement could easily have been discovered by their incessant reappearance. The law, for example, forbidding distribution of Indians to ministers or ecclesiastics appeared no less than six times between 1530 and 1563 (*Recopilación*, tomo II, título 8). Laws against the commending of Indians by any prohibited title, such as donation, sale, or exchange appear as many as ten times between 1540 and 1628. Regulations that the *encomendero*, any members of his family, guests, or slaves may not reside in the *pueblos* of their *encomiendas* are also frequent. A study of Spanish legislation reveals unmistakably that the *encomienda* in some form existed as late as 1667. Some authorities place the real abolition of the system in the administration of José de Gálvez. When the *encomiendas* finally reverted to the crown, they were administered by *alcaldes mayores* who enriched themselves



by raising the prices on the merchandise entrusted to them for distribution to the Indians. By the time of the appointment of José de Gálvez as minister general of the Indies, a system had evolved whereby the landholders advanced food, seeds, tools, and animals to the Indians who were to discharge their obligations from the fruits of their labor. Chronic debt, a condition which Gálvez tried to relieve by prohibiting any advance of supplies beyond five pesos in value, was the result. Debt peonage was rife in Mexico until the revolutions at the time of Pofirio Díaz and many vestiges still remain. Why did not Mr. Simpson trace this merging of the encomienda with debt peonage? Not without point is the exclamation of the Peruvian poet, José Santos Chocano, so late as 1922:

El joven Indio comparece  
ante el cenudo Capataz:  
"Tu padre ha muerto; y, como sabes  
en contra tuya en pie están  
duedas, que tu con tu trabajo  
tal vez nos llegues a pagar—  
Desde mañana, como es justo,  
rebajaremos tu jornal."

Although Mr. Simpson does not pretend to treat his subject beyond 1550, there appears no obvious reason for such delimitation. One of the most fruitful fields for investigation lay just ahead of him. Under such conditions, the subtitle, *Forced Native Labor in the Spanish Colonies* appears ambitious. It is only because of the striking excellence of the research, the smooth vigor of the style, and the penetrating analysis of this book that expansion should be suggested.

Duke University.

JOHN TATE LANNING.

*Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora. A Mexican Savant of the Seventeenth Century.* By IRVING A. LEONARD. (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1929. Pp. x, 287. Illus. map. \$3.50.)

To most laymen the name of Sigüenza y Góngora is quite unknown, and to many students of Mexican history it is a vague shadow. Even Professor Coester in his *Literary History of Spanish America* has devoted less than a page to this savant whose life Dr. Leonard has chosen to treat in a detailed volume.

From the story it appears that Don Carlos had much in common with the great Petrarch and the early humanists of the Indian Re-

naissance, for he lived in the essentially medieval atmosphere of the capitol of New Spain where intellectual life was dominated by the inane "Gongoristic" poetry—(named after an uncle in Spain)—and by a diffuse doctrinal theology which was becoming extinct elsewhere. Yet despite such a stagnating mental environment, Don Carlos was one of the greatest scholars in the western hemisphere in the seventeenth century. He made all human knowledge his province, becoming a poet, a philosopher, a mathematician, an engineer, a cartographer, a geographer, an astronomer, a philologist, an ethnologist, an archaeologist, and an historian. At different times he held such titles as Royal Cosmographer of Charles II., Professor of *Mathématiques* in the Royal University of Mexico, Head Chaplain of the Hospital del Amor de Dios, Accountant of the University, General Examiner of Gunners, Corrector of the Inquisition, and others.

Don Carlos was born in 1645 in Mexico City, the eldest of nine children. On his father's side, he came from a distinguished lineage which had been connected with prominent families in both Old and New Spain. At the age of fifteen, he became a novitiate in the Jesuit Order taking his vows two years later. In this environment he studied philosophy, literature, and theology, and acquired a deep reverence for the teaching of the Catholic Church, which, though he read widely from Descartes, he kept throughout life. In 1667, he left the order for an unknown reason and appears to have taken up the study of Church law and native languages at the University of Mexico. In 1672, he was elected to the "Chair of Astrology and Mathematics" in that institution, but finding the salary inadequate, it became necessary for him to augment his earnings by serving as chaplain in the Hospital del Amor del Dios, an institution which administered to persons suffering from venereal diseases. There he made many needed financial and religious reforms and remained until his death in 1700.

From an early age, Don Carlos had felt the urge to write, and as he grew older and his interests widened, the number and variety of his productions increased. Frequently he was called upon by the government to record important public events. However, much that he wrote was never published because of its secular nature and because, being a college professor, the cost of printing was nearly prohibitive. Hence many of his writings have disappeared and it is difficult to make a just estimate of his literary attainments. As a poet he dis-

played neither brilliance nor originality, yet his contemporaries accorded his verse considerable praise. As a prose writer he was at his best using frequently a simple, unaffected style, but he was capable of employing ponderous Latin effusions with great facility. Of his prose productions, the greatest is perhaps the *Astronomical Libra* (published in 1690), a treatise to prove that comets are not harbingers of evil, written after Father Kino had hinted that Don Carlos was a dull wit to hold such a view. For a number of years he published annual almanacs with which he took great scientific pains. Other important works were of an historical and philosophical nature.

In addition to his writings, the scholar found time to carry on many other interesting activities. He supervised the construction of a better drainage system for the vicinity of Mexico City; he made valuable suggestions concerning the fortifications at San Juan Ulúa; he drew numerous maps for the government and for individuals; he went on an exploring expedition to Pensacola, Florida, for the government; he collected native documents and remains for his museum and library; and he suggested, after careful study, the confining of the natives of Mexico City in districts to prevent the reoccurrence of a riot like that of 1692. In all of these undertakings he showed constant energy, real skill, and rare common sense.

During his later life, no person of importance passed through the capitol of New Spain without stopping to meet Don Carlos whose fame had spread rapidly and widely. Between him and the poetess Sister Juana Inéz de la Cruz sprang up a platonic friendship. With Father Kino he was at first very friendly, although later they differed actively and rather bitterly in regard to the meaning of comets. His relations with the civil and religious officials of Mexico were friendly and generally cordial.

Dr. Leonard has caught the spirit of the man and of the age, and has produced a careful work of erudition. There are remarkably few typographical errors, the chief being the footnote numbering on pages 3 and 4. The style is finished, and the story has been interestingly told. A good index, an excellent bibliography, an indispensable catalogue of the writings of Sigüenza, and an appendix containing the letter of Don Carlos describing the corn riot of 1692 add greatly to the value of the volume.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

George Washington University.

*Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America.* Edited by LEO FRANCIS STOCK. Vol. I. 1542-1688; Vol. II. 1689-1702; Vol. III. 1702-1727. (Washington, D. C.: Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1927-1930. Pp. xx, 515; xvi, 564; xxvi, 571.)

From the first three volumes of this monumental work, as yet unfinished, one can predicate its increasing usefulness to the historical investigator. Once more the thanks of workers in the history of the Americas are owing to Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, formerly head of the division of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington; for, to quote Dr. Stock (III. 24):

It was he who conceived this work; his retirement from this Division has not lessened his interest in the project. He has by suggestion, advice, and corrective contributed more to these pages than can here be acknowledged.

The first volume ends with the final phase of the struggle between crown and parliament; the second comprehends the reign of William and Mary and the last parliament of William; and the third covers the reigns of Anne and George I. From the title of the work, one would not immediately suspect that the contents reach beyond the original thirteen colonies; but Dr. Jameson in his introductory note to Vol. I. calls attention (I. iv) to the fact that

the compilation is not confined to the thirteen colonies . . . but embraces all British America, including Canada, Bermuda, the Bahamas, and the West Indies.

The editor further defines the scope of the work by stating (I. v):

The work is not absolutely confined to North America, though it is convenient to use that term in its title, rather than the too inclusive word America. It is planned not only to include matter relating to the original thirteen colonies, but in general all items relating, distinctly or by implication from the context, to North America, from the isthmus of Panama to Greenland inclusive (but not to Iceland); to the north shore of South America during times of warfare, and to Guiana and the regions of the Amazon during the time of colonizing effort there; to the West Indies, and to the Philippines.

This is, therefore, a work to be consulted by the student of the history of Hispanic America falling within the dates comprehended in the volumes. It consists, not only of excerpts from printed works (the Journals of the house of lords and commons, and various other allied materials), but also of excerpts from important manuscript



collections, much of which has never before been published. The volumes furnish a primary source of more than ordinary value.

The matter relating to Hispanic America is largely diplomatic and economic in tone. It is adequately pointed out in the excellent indices which were made by Mr. Matteson. Considerable material arising from piracy or privateering will be found and matters of commerce and trade receive much attention. Indeed, these volumes reveal the important truth that Great Britain's present interest in Hispanic America had its genesis in the sixteenth century.

The editing has been done meticulously and the editor has added much to the text by his careful annotations. Dr. Stock has done an immense amount of painstaking and laborious work which will lessen materially the labors of those who use his volumes. Successive volumes, especially between the dates of 1740-1783, will doubtless contain a great deal of information relative to Florida, Cuba, and other parts of Hispanic America. They will be awaited with unusual anticipation.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*La Guerra de Reforma según el Archivo del General D. Manuel Doblado, 1857-1860.* Edited by CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA. (San Antonio, Texas: Casa Editorial Lozano, 1930. Pp. xvii, 269, [8] leaves. Paper cover; illus., index.)

This is Volume III. of the series "Nuevos Documentos inéditos o muy raros para la Historia de México". The series owed its inception to the Mexican scholar, Dr. Genaro García, who edited the first volume in 1913. The famous historian and bibliophile died in 1920 without editing another volume of the series. As is well known his collection is now in the University of Texas; and it has remained for Sr. Carlos E. Castañeda, a Mexican, and Latin American Librarian of the García Collection, to continue the publication of these important documents for the history of Mexico. Sr. Castañeda's first volume (the second of the series) has been published by the department of public education of Mexico. The present volume—the third of the series and the second edited by Sr. Castañeda—has been brought out by a Mexican publishing house in Texas.

The volume consists of the correspondence between Doblado and many prominent Mexicans of the period for the years 1857-1860—a

period of much interest and importance in Mexican history, opening in the year of the adoption of the celebrated constitution of 1857, and ending but a short time prior to the beginning of the disastrous Maximilian period. It might, perhaps, better be said that they cover a part of an important period which ended with the execution of Maximilian. Of the letters, only seven were written by Doblado. Thirty-six of them were written by Santos Degollado; seven by Miguel de Echeagaray; nine by Benito Gómez Farias; sixteen by Jesús González Ortega; twenty-four by Guillermo Prieto; and some seventy-seven other persons wrote one or more of them. Among these are letters from Ignacio Comonfort, Benito Juárez, and Miguel Lerdo de Tejada. One is from Doblado's wife and constitutes a very human document revealing her fears for his safety. Most of the letters (a few are telegrams) are political in tone. Indeed, they are chiefly valuable for the light they throw on the politics of Mexico during the period in which they were written. They cover a wide range of expression and ideas and form an excellent contribution to Mexican history. It would be difficult to tell which is the most important of perhaps half a dozen outstanding communications.

The correspondence is preceded by a biography of Manuel Doblado of Guanajuato written by Sr. Castañeda, in which the main events of the life of the prominent liberal are brought out. The letters themselves reveal the hold that Doblado had upon a wide circle of friends and partisans, owing no doubt to the dynamic force of his personality. Doubtless he aspired in some degree to the presidency of Mexico, but that was denied him, and he appears to have filled his several offices with ability and to have held any personal ambition in check. After his defeat at the battle of Matehuala in 1864, when victory seemed in sight, Doblado went into voluntary exile, dying in New York, on June 19, 1865.

There are few errors in the book. Perhaps the most noticeable is the date on the front cover "1857-1850" instead of "1857-1860". Sr. Castañeda has evidently renewed the series as a labor of love; and it is hoped that sufficient encouragement will be received so that the work may be continued.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*Catálogo de los Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla (1602-1608).* By FRANCISCO NAVAS. *Precedido de una Historia General de Filipinas.* By REV. PABLO PASTELLS, S.J. Vol. V. (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1929. Pp. cccclxxiii, 222. Paper covers. 30 pesetas.)

This fifth instalment of the list of documents relative to the Philippines and the narrative history relate to the six years intervening between the arrival of Governor Pedro Brabo de Acuña and that of Governor Rodrigo de Vivero. Father Pastells's narrative shows the diversity of factors affecting the colony during these critical years. Fears of the Japanese continue, for Japan had not yet become a hermit nation. It was during this period, indeed, that Japan desired to develop trade relations with the Philippines and with New Spain. Missionary labors, both inside and outside the Philippines, and new attempts are met by martyrdoms. In 1603, Manila is visited by a great fire which destroys much of the city. The great revolt of the Chinese also occurs in this year—a revolt explained variously as proceeding from the jealousy, distrust, and cupidity both of natives and Spaniards. Those restless followers of Mohammed, the Moros of the southern islands, make more than one disastrous raid among the Filipinos and breathe vengeance against the Spaniard. The usual trouble between officials and religious is seen; and Governor Brabo de Acuña petitions that the audiencia be again suppressed.

Dreaming of wider empire, Acuña makes another campaign against the Moluccas. His death rouses an accusation in certain quarters that he has been poisoned. Archbishop Benavides, a Dominican, who had been active in the islands for a number of years also dies in harness. He had been a storm center more than once. During this period occurs also the third voyage for the discovery of the austral regions by Captain Pedro Fernández de Quiros. Hernando de los Rios Coronel writes the earliest of his important memorials.

As in preceding volumes of this series there is little attempt at criticism. Father Pastells has cited voluminously from the documents themselves, and has made continual use of the synoptic method. His narrative, however, furnishes data most important to the student.

The documents listed cover numbers 6105 to 7944. Document No. 6118 refers to the marriage of a daughter of Judge Antonio de

Morga after an elopement. Others relate to the Dutch navigator Oliver Van Noordt. Document No. 6281 is a letter from Sebastian Vizcaino to the king relative to his voyage in the South Sea in which he advises a settlement at Monterey. The documents cover everything related in the narrative.

As noted in previous reviews of this series, many of the documents listed have been published in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, and both narrative and list will be found to supplement that series. Because of the death of Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, who was known to so many historical research students of the United States of North America, the list is now being carried on by Don Francisco Navas.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.



## NOTES AND COMMENT

### GABRIELA MISTRAL

Lucila Godoy de Alcayága, whose pen name is Gabriela Mistral, is once more a welcome visitor to the city of New York. After five years spent in Europe, where she was a member of the Committee of Intellectual Coöperation before the League of Nations, she has returned to this city at the request of the directors of Middlebury and Barnard colleges, where she is giving a course in Spanish History and Civilization to students of those institutions.

The Chilean poet came to this country in 1922 on her way to Europe. For this visit, the United States is indebted to Doctor Federico de Onís, of Columbia University, who has always endeavored to spread the knowledge of literary values of Spain and Spanish America among students and teachers engaged in learning and teaching Spanish and Spanish American literature in schools and universities of the United States.

The name of Gabriela Mistral is a familiar one among the writers of the world. Long before her first book, *Desolación*, appeared under the auspices of the Instituto de las Españas of New York, she had been discussed by leading critics of Spain and Spanish America. Rubén Darío spoke of her in a most flattering manner in a Parisian review; and since then, she has attained an enviable position in the field of literature.

Her biography is a brief one. Born in Elqui, an obscure provincial town of Chile, in the province of Vicuña, she early devoted her admirable moral and intellectual gifts to the instruction of children in her own country, first in rural, and later in normal schools. Until the age of twelve, she lived a solitary, timid life in the country among farmers and village gossips, with little personal contact with children of her own age. She was precociously serious and thoughtful, as though already conscious of the grave duties which were to be hers in later life. From Elqui, her family moved to the neighboring town of La Serena, where she was sent to school. The teacher, however, found the new pupil somewhat too simple and uncouth to take the

polish of books and school discipline. So she was returned to her parents with the advice to devote her to household duties rather than to intellectual pursuits.

Then came bankruptcy. The old homestead, already burdened by mortgages, was lost. Quite suddenly, the young girl found herself destitute and alone. She became secretary in a provincial school, a school attended by rich girls, but hermetically closed to the children of poor parents. Protesting against this social injustice, she began to admit into the school girls of all classes, but this led to her discharge. Again, Gabriela found herself in dire need, this time with but three dollars comprising all her earthly goods.

Her next position was in a normal school of a small provincial town lost amid the Andes Mountains. For two years she remained there, teaching the children and filling in her spare hours by giving lessons to farmer boys. There, perhaps, she first felt the pathos of the plaintive songs of Araucania, songs as mournful and rebellious as the soul of the Indian. There, too, perhaps, great sorrow entered her life and gave birth to the wonderful "Sonnets of Death". Later, she was appointed inspector and finally, principal of a normal school in Chile's capital.

When José Vasconcelos undertook his educational reforms in Mexico, he called Gabriela Mistral to aid him in that tremendous enterprise, and her assistance proved of immense gain to Mexico. On horseback, she rode everywhere, opening new schools in remote districts where there was no railway communication. It was in Mexico that she published her *Lecturas Escolares* for use in the public school that bears her name. For many years she has given herself unconditionally to the cause of education. From the barren towns of northern Chile she has journeyed to lowly huts in the very heart of Mexico, in order that she might teach those who otherwise must remain illiterate.

In her book of poems, *Desolación*, she has left imperishable traces of her wanderings in Chile while engaged there in the work of public instruction. In that volume she has drawn most faithfully pictures of the bare, forlorn, infinitely lonesome landscape of Patagonia; of the wonderful Andes Mountains, whose awe-inspiring peaks of black rock stand out against the bright morning sky, the white clouds hovering above; of Punta Arena, the southernmost city in the world, dark

and dreary, with its short days and its long nights; of all those rainless, barren, dismal towns of northern Chile bordering the nitrate region, where not a shrub, not a blade of grass is to be seen mile after mile; of Temuco, the land of the Araucanians, where the ancestral sadness of the Indian, exploited and ill-treated by the white man, seems a part of the landscape.

Gabriela Mistral entered the field of Hispanic American letters at a time when readers and writers alike were becoming weary of romantic and pseudo-romantic themes. Other poets of the south, especially her sister poets, were singing beautifully and dolefully in rhymes that sounded like the faint echo of the pretty French countess, Anne de Noailles. The advent of this honest Chilean woman in the field of literature was a powerful antidote to the often over sentimental poetry of Hispanic America; for she had on her lips a song of her own, sincere and profound, uninfluenced by French schooling. She had, it would seem, followed that wise counsel "Look into thy heart and write". It is true that this very sincerity, devoid of foreign influences, becomes at times somewhat harsh and obscure, and perhaps somewhat distorted. On the other hand, it has given her an unique place among contemporary writers of Hispanic America, for she remains herself in all her faults and in all her virtues as a poet. She knows well, through her own sensitive, poetical gift that only that which is deeply felt can be deeply sung. If, at times, she is careless in the technique of her verse, she is always profound, and there is always a deep-rooted meaning to all her words. She does not write poetry for the sake of pleasing the ear with musical rhymes, but rather to unburden a heart heavy with pain and to deliver the message of a soul eternally sad. In some of her poems, for instance, "The Poems of the Sun", one finds cries of despair, nay apostrophes, that sound not unlike a biblical echo from Job or Jeremiah. She has suffered, indeed, but her sufferings have dignified her life and her devotion to her chosen tasks has endeared her to countless people.

In contrast with the sadness of much of her poetry are the almost gleeful lines of her poems for children—little masterpieces of delicacy and sentiment—which are repeatedly heard on the lips of the children of Spanish America. Some of these have been cleverly rendered into English by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell and published in her recent book.

The prose of Gabriela Mistral, although not always distinguished by a choice style, is always full of meaning, intense, and enriched by striking images and religious sentiment. Such, for instance, are the masterly little prose poems which she has named "Themes of Clay".

A. ORTIZ VARGAS.

New York.

### INSTITUTE ON PAN AMERICAN RELATIONS

The second annual Institute on Pan American Relations, held October 10-13, 1930, at MacMurray College, formerly the Illinois Woman's College, Jacksonville, Illinois, emphasized the particular need of educating the American public in Hispanic American affairs, in order to bring about a general understanding in this country of the problems that face our southern neighbors. The president of the college, C. P. McClelland, sounded the keynote by declaring that the aim of the institute is to

generate friendly coöperation, not only in matters of trade, but also in developing on the American continents a distinctively higher civilization and culture than the old world has known.

Professor Chester Lloyd Jones, of the University of Wisconsin, in discussing the commercial activities of the United States in South America, spoke of the great economic gain which will accrue from the development of the resources of South America. The trade of the United States with South America is mutually beneficial and the South American market as a whole will always be open to the United States. The present scale of tariff rates prove that in many cases the United States is really almost following a free-trade policy with respect to Hispanic American products—a course inuring to the benefit of all concerned. American investments in South America have grown greatly and will continue to grow. Contrary to popular opinion, these investments primarily center in private industrial and commercial enterprises and not in the holding of government bonds. Investments in general have never yielded fabulous incomes. There have been some "bonanzas", and many enterprises have yielded fair returns, but many have yielded nothing at all.

The spread of information in this country concerning Hispanic America, the special aim of the United Press, was discussed by Mr.



Joseph L. Jones, foreign editor for the United Press. This has proved of especial benefit in helping to solve such matters as the Tacna-Arica dispute; and in the alleviation of distress, as in the recent Santo-Domingo hurricane. Today South America is better informed by the United States press concerning European affairs than it is by the European press itself. New York, not London, is the center of international news. International opinion, stimulated by the press, has contributed definitely to the shaping of policies in Washington, curbing imperialistic tendencies and, particularly during the present administration, influencing the more frequent appointment of men to portfolios in Hispanic America fitted therefor both by a knowledge of the language of the country and actual experience.

Professor William Warren Sweet, of the University of Chicago, declared that the people of the United States should know the art and literature of Hispanic America better. José Toribio Medina [since this session deceased], of Chile, is the greatest living bibliographer of the Americas and the late Francisco Sarmiento, of Argentina, is one of the outstanding educators of the world. These men and others indicate the caliber of Hispanic American culture. The people of the United States must learn to coöperate in common tasks with those of Hispanic America. International peace depends upon understanding and coöperation rather than upon political pacts.

Professor John A. Lapp, of Marquette University, said that much is being done in social coöperation, especially in child welfare and public health. The people of the United States need to know better the deeper things of Hispanic American life. There are, of course, unfortunate social and economic conditions to be discerned in Hispanic America, but many travelers from the United States frequently criticize without realizing, or ignoring, that worse conditions only too frequently exist at home.

Professor Dexter Perkins, of the University of Rochester, asserted that popular pressure on the administration at Washington is responsible at times for the stand taken by this country in a given situation under the Monroe Doctrine. Moreover, the doctrine has been expanded beyond the intent of its framers. As a matter of fact the doctrine has little application to modern conditions—being the basis, indeed, of opposition to the United States and the blocking of coöperation. The doctrine needs to be re-analysed and re-defined in

order that it may be harmonized with the present desires of the United States with respect to Hispanic America.

Mr. Andrew Ten Eyck, assistant secretary of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, said that the "Caribbean area is the most discussed and least understood area of the world". The Canal Zone is most important and any interference near that sensitive district must not be allowed. The United States should never abandon intervention in principle, but any agreements should be so definite that actual enforcement need not be necessary.

Mr. Chester D. Pugsley, the donor of the institute and its presiding officer, announced that the third annual session would be held October 10-13, 1931.

### A NEW BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION

The Inter-American Bibliographical Association has been formed recently in Washington for the purpose of promoting bibliographical study throughout the Americas, including Canada. Prominent in this new development have been Dr. E. Gil Borges, assistant director of the Pan American Union; Mr. Charles B. Babcock, Librarian of the same institution; and various members of the staff of the Library of Congress and some others, including Messrs. Martel, Childs, Meyer, Kletsch, Vance, Wilgus, and Robertson (J. A.). The constitution provides for a central organizing and coördinating committee and in each country of the Americas a national bibliographical committee. Dr. E. Gil Borges has been elected president of the central organizing and coördinating committee and Mr. Ernest Kletsch, in charge of the work of the Union Catalogue being prosecuted in the Library of Congress, secretary-treasurer. The president of the national committee of the United States will be vice-president of the central committee. It is expected that the enrolling of members for the organization in the United States will soon commence. The constitution and by-laws of the new organization, which it is expected will be revised as time may prove advisable, are as follows:

#### CONSTITUTION

- I. The Inter-American Bibliographical Association is established for the purpose of organizing and coördinating Inter-American activities in the field of bibliography.

- II. The object of this Association shall be the promotion of Inter-American bibliographical work, by means of coöperation with the bibliographical organizations, bibliographical experts, libraries, and other related agencies in all countries of the Americas, and to lend assistance in research work on subjects relating thereto.
- III. There shall be an Organizing and Coördinating Committee which shall direct the activities of the Association and which shall coöperate with the National Bibliographical Committee in each country of the Americas.
- IV. The membership of the Association shall include bibliographical associations, directors and ranking officers of libraries, archives, and learned societies, both national and local, and members of all institutions which include bibliography as one of their activities.
- V. The Association shall furnish to investigators, research workers, students, writers, and others, information on bibliographical sources for the subjects in which they are interested provided such subjects are within its field. It will also endeavor to establish contacts between those workers and the organizations or individuals possessing or having access to sources of information.
- VI. To promote the development of a general bibliography of the Americas, this Association shall further the exchange of bibliographical information, encourage the preparation and completion of special bibliographies, and devise plans for the coördination and extension of such bibliographies.
- VII. The Association shall coöperate with the Pan American Union and with all other agencies engaged in similar work.
- VIII. The Organizing and Coördinating Committee shall develop plans to obtain the necessary funds for this work through gifts, endowments, or subsidies from governments, associations, or individuals.
- IX. All matters not specifically provided for in this constitution are subject to regulation through by-laws.

#### TRANSITORY ARTICLE

Until such time as an election can be held by delegates appointed by the national committees, there shall be a Provisional Organizing and Coördinating Committee, which shall direct the activities of the Association as outlined in this constitution. The Provisional Committee shall promote the establishment of a National Bibliographical Committee in each country of the Americas to carry on the work of the Association in the respective countries.

#### BY-LAWS

- 1. The officers of the Association shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their offices, with such other duties as may from time to time be prescribed.
- 2. The Chairman of the Organizing and Coördinating Committee shall be ex-officio President of the Association.
- 3. The Chairman of the Organizing and Coördinating Committee shall be elected for a term of five years by a majority vote of the members of said Committee.

4. The Chairman of each National Committee shall hold the rank of Vice-President in the Association.
5. A Secretary shall be elected by a majority vote of the members of the Organizing and Coördinating Committee, to serve until his successor shall be similarly elected.
6. A Treasurer shall be elected by a majority vote of the members of the Organizing and Coördinating Committee, to serve until his successor shall be similarly elected.
7. The several National Committees shall each organize themselves into a working unit, the form of which is left to their own selection, but with recommendation that such form adhere as closely as possible to that of the Organizing and Coördinating Committee.
8. Elections and nominations shall be held every five years on October first.
9. Any vacancies occurring during the term of office shall be filled by the Organizing and Coördinating Committee.
10. Annual dues shall be \$1.00, payable October first.
11. There shall be at least one general meeting of the Association in each year at which time an address in the form of a review of the activities of the association shall be given.
12. These by-laws may be altered or amended by a two-thirds vote of the Organizing and Coördinating Committee.

#### AMENDMENTS

1. The Organizing and Coördinating Committee shall have the power to elect to honorary membership persons prominent in the field of bibliography.
2. The Organizing and Coördinating Committee shall consist of fifteen members with power to vote, and as many additional non-voting members as the voting members may elect.

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Attention of students of Hispanic American history is called to the prolific labors of a young Catalan scholar, Sr. Gonzalo de Reparaz (hijo). Though primarily a geographer and cartographer Sr. Reparaz envisages his subjects in a most comprehensive way and many of his books have an appeal to the student of history. Unfortunately, some of the most valuable are written in Catalan. The two of special interest are: *Historia dels Descobriments Geografics* (2 vols. Barcelona, 1927. The second volume deals with "Els Viatgers Medievals"); and *Catalunya a les Mars* (Barcelona, 1930). This latter work has just appeared from the press. A translation of some of the chapter headings will give an idea of its contents: "The Theatre of Catalan Expansion", "Nautical and Geographical Culture of the Catalans of the Middle Ages", "The Catalan Navy", "Catalan Commerce", "Pirates and Traders", "Catalans in the Levant and in the Orient", "Catalans



and the *Mar Tenebrosa*". For the well known Spanish collection "Labor" Sr. Reparaz has written a useful manual, namely, *La Época de los Grandes Descubrimientos Españoles y Portugueses* (Barcelona, 1930), and a monograph from his pen is soon to be issued by the same house under the title of *Geografía del Brasil*. Finally, Sr. Reparaz has just published in Portuguese an important work on the origins of Portuguese Cartography: *Mestre Jacome de Malhorca, Cartografo do Infante. Contribuição para o Estudo da Origem da Cartografia Portuguesa* (Coimbra, 1930). Sr. Reparaz should not be confused with his father, the well known Spanish scholar whose *Geografía y Política* was reviewed in a recent number of the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

P. A. M.

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Americans—in all three Americas—have lost a friend, and those who have from time to time engaged in research in the Archives of the Indies have lost a competent helper. Sr. Don Ribas, for years associated with that great institution, died in Seville in mid-August last, after a brief illness. His many years of experience had made Sr. Ribas one of the best paleographers in the archives. No hieroglyph but he could read it; nor was he ever too busy to respond to a novice's appeal for assistance in deciphering. Sr. Ribas leaves a widow, Sra. Dña Encarnación E. del Pozo, Divina Pastora 5, Sevilla, who will carry on his work.

I. A. W.

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Sr. don Vicente Llorens, formerly of the Archives of the Indies, in later years librarian of the University of Seville, died in that city in August. Sr. Llorens was a competent archivist, an agreeable and popular man; his loss is felt.

I. A. W.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### CONTRIBUTION TO A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON ARTIGAS AND THE BEGINNINGS OF URUGUAY, 1810-1820

There is a vast amount of material pertaining in one way or another to the career of José Artigas, both in manuscript and in printed form. The former, with one exception, has, however, not been available for the present study, and is in all probability scattered in at least three continents.

The national archives of Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil, along with Argentine and Brazilian provincial archives and private collections in those three countries, should contain the bulk of this material, but to make a complete search it would be necessary to dig into the United States archives at Washington and into state and county records at least in the state of Maryland, whose chief port, Baltimore, was an important center for Artigas's privateers. In Europe, too, there is undoubtedly untouched material in governmental depositories in Spain, Great Britain, and Portugal. Even the archives of Sweden, whose West Indian possession, Saint Bartholomew, was important as a privateering center, and, in fact, those of almost any maritime country of Europe, should contain some material of value.

Printed matter is, of course, more accessible, and in general at least its location is known. Much more might well be added to that already written directly on Artigas, but preferably in the form of monographs on special phases or particular periods of his career, while the field of research in regard to some of his associates and opponents is almost untouched. Obviously this list is of value for much more than the career of Artigas. It will be found of service, for instance, for the general history of the Plateau countries during the period of Artigas.

The items listed below include all the relevant material which has been available for this study. Most of them are to be found in the general library of the University of California, and some in the Bancroft Library. Of the balance, the greater part are in the Stanford University Library, some four or five are personal copies, and one or

two are in libraries elsewhere. To this rather lengthy list, there is appended a supplementary list of the most outstanding books for the study of Artigas and his times which have not been available, but without which no study can be really adequate.

The following chart shows how the material has been classified:

- I. Bibliographies, historiographies, etc.
- II. Encyclopedias, dictionaries, and other guides.
- III. Government publications.
- IV. Miscellaneous documentary collections.
- V. Books and articles.
  - A. Books and articles directly on Artigas.
  - B. Other books and articles:
    - (1) Hispanic America in general
    - (2) Argentine Republic
    - (3) Brazil
    - (4) Paraguay
    - (5) Uruguay
    - (6) Other countries.
- VI. Periodicals, including reviews of learned societies.
- VII. Supplementary list.

#### I. BIBLIOGRAPHIES, HISTORIOGRAPHIES, ETC.

There is no adequate bibliography of the history of Hispanic America or of Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, or Paraguay. However, with a combination of the bibliographies listed, an excellent bibliography of Brazilian and Río de la Plata history can be evolved.

1. Carbia, Rómulo D.: *Historia de la Historiografía Argentina*. La Plata (Argentina), 1925.

An invaluable work, particularly for critical comment. Its chief weakness lies in its lack of any index by which individual items may be checked.

2. *Catálogo anotado dos Livros sobre o Brasil e de algunos Autographos e Manuscriptos pertenecentes a J. C. Rodrigues*. Parte I. *Descubrimiento da America: Brasil colonial 1492-1822*. Ed. by J. C. Rodrigues. Rio de Janeiro, 1907.

An excellent though only mildly critical bibliography of Brazil to 1822, with a considerable number of works on the Río de la Plata states as well. "Part I" is the only volume published.

3. *Catálogo da Exposição da História do Brazil*. In *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro*, IX, parts 1 and 2 (1881-1882).

An extensive classified bibliography of some twenty thousand titles covering a wide range of fields connected with Brazil.

4. Keniston, Hayward: *List of works for the study of Hispanic American History*. Baltimore, 1922.

Published under the auspices of the Hispanic Society, this is an excellent work as far as it goes, but is by no means comprehensive.

5. Manacorda, Telmo: Clemente L. Fregeiro. In *Revista Histórica*, XII. (Montevideo, 1924).

A short but valuable bibliography of the writings of Professor Fregeiro, whose documentary collection, *Artigas: estudio histórico*, is invaluable for Artigas.

6. ——— Victor Arreguine. In *Revista Histórica*, XII. (Montevideo, 1924).

A bibliographical sketch similar in nature to the above.

7. Pierson, William Whatley: *Hispanic American History: a Syllabus*. 3d ed. Chapel Hill (North Carolina), 1926.

This work is primarily a syllabus, but each section of each chapter contains a bibliographical list at the end. However, since the latter indicates neither place nor date of publication, its value for bibliographical purposes is materially hampered.

8. Robaina, Vicente S.: *Archivos Portugueses*. In *Revista Histórica*, IX. (Montevideo, 1919).

A survey of the several archives of the Portuguese government, with comments as to the classes of material pertinent to the history of Uruguay to be found in each.

9. Salas, Carlos I.: *Bibliografía del Coronel Don Federico Brandsen*. 2d ed. Buenos Aires, 1910.

In theory this is merely a bibliography of a secondary figure in the wars of independence; actually it is much broader, with some general criticism.

10. ——— *Bibliografía del General San Martín y de la Independencia Sudamericana*. 5 vols., Buenos Aires, 1910.

Superior to the preceding compilation, since its scope is broader. If the items listed were classified, it would be of much greater value.

11. *Spain and Spanish America in the Libraries of the University of California: a Catalogue of Books*. I, The general and departmental Libraries. Berkeley (California), 1928.

A valuable though uncritical compilation of works on Spain and Spanish America. Volume II, which will list works in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, is not yet published.

## II. ENCYCLOPEDIAS, DICTIONARIES, AND OTHER GUIDES

Adequate encyclopedia facilities for a study of Artigas and his associates are lacking in English. Indeed, no English language encyclopedia of general scope lists Artigas at all!

12. *Diccionario histórico y biográfico de la República Argentina*. Ed. by Julio A. Muzzio. Buenos Aires, 1920.

A decidedly helpful biographical dictionary despite some of the gross inaccuracies contained.

13. *Enciclopedia de la América del Sur*. Ed. by William Henry Koebel. 4 vols., Buenos Aires, 1912.



Of general value for cross references.

14. *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada Europeo-americana*. Ed. by J. Espasa & Hijo. 70 vols., Barcelona, 1908—(current).

For general purposes this is probably the best encyclopedia in the world today. A range of subjects as varied as Hispanic American history and Scandinavian literature is covered more thoroughly than by the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and other encyclopedias. For biographical information on secondary figures of Argentine and Uruguayan history it is invaluable.

### III. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Government publications relative to Artigas are not plentiful. Nevertheless, those which are available are of considerable value.

15. *American state papers*. Documents, legislative and executive, of the Congress of the United States, selected and edited under Authority of Congress. 38 vols., Washington, 1832-1861.

Volumes III. to VI., "Foreign relations" class, have considerable material regarding United States relations.

16. *Annals of the Congress of the United States*. The debates and proceedings in the Congress of the United States; with an Appendix, containing important State Papers and public Documents, and all the Laws of a public Nature; with a copious Index, . . . first session comprising the period from March 3, 1789, to May 27, 1824. 42 vols., Washington, 1834-1856.

The *Congressional Record* of its day.

17. *Bibliografía histórica de las Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata desde el Año 1780 hasta el de 1821*. Apéndice á la *Gaceta* de Buenos Aires. Ed. by Antonio Zinny. Buenos Aires, 1875.

In theory this is merely a list of all official documents published during the period indicated. Actually it contains not only condensations of many, but verbatim copies of others, particularly those not available elsewhere at the time of publication.

18. *British and foreign state Papers* (title varies). 122 vols., London, 1829-1929.

A collection of state papers of various nations. Of value to the study of the South American wars of independence are a vast number of important documents, mostly English translations, including a translation of Funes's history.

19. *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin American Nations*. Ed. by William Ray Manning. 3 vols., New York, 1925.

An invaluable selected group of documents from 1810 to 1830, published under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment and with the coöperation of the United States department of state.

20. *Documentos relativos a Historia da Capitania, depois Provincia, de S. Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul, compilados e copiados na Secretaria do Governo em Porto Alegre, de Ordem do Conselheiro Barão Homem de Mello, ex-Pre-*

sidente da mesma Provincia. In *Revista Trimensal*, XL-XLII. (Rio de Janeiro, 1877-1879).

A very valuable documentary collection. It is especially rich in material on the Portuguese invasions of Uruguay in 1811 and 1812.

21. *Gaceta de Buenos Aires* (1810-1821). Edición facsimilar. 6 vols., Buenos Aires, 1910.

A reprint of the official gazette of the Buenos Aires government. A very valuable publication for any research in connection with the wars of independence.

22. *Gaceta de Buenos Aires desde 1810 hasta 1821*. Resumen de los Bandos, Proclamas, Manifestaciones, Partes, Ordenes, Decretos, Circulares, Observaciones, Declaraciones, Tratados, Oficios remitidos, Noticias, Resoluciones, Actas, Reflexiones, Promociones, Donativos, Renuncias, Remociones, etc., etc. Ed. by Antonio Zinny. Buenos Aires, 1875.

An indexed summary of the *Gaceta*, invaluable for use in connection with that work.

23. *Los Mensajes*. Historia del Desenvolvimiento de la Nación Argentina redactada cronológicamente por sus Gobernantes, 1810-1910. Ed. by Heraclio Mabragaña. 6 vols., Buenos Aires, 1910.

A collection of official messages, etc. which is of less value than are most such compilations. Volume I. covers the years 1810-1839.

24. O'Leary, Daniel Florencio: *Memorias del General O'Leary*, publicadas por su Hijo Simón B. O'Leary por Orden del Gobierno de Venezuela bajo los Auspicios de su Presidente General Guzmán Blanco. 32 vols., Caracas, 1879-1888.

An official government publication containing many isolated items of value for an intensive study of Artigas.

25. *Oratoria Argentina*. Recopilación cronológica de las Proclamas, Discursos, Manifiestos, y Documentos importantes que llegaron á la Historia de su Patria Argentinos celebres, desde el año 1810 hasta 1904. Ed. by Neptali Carranza. 5 vols., Buenos Aires, 1905.

Not a great collection.

26. *Partes oficiales y Documentos relativos a la Guerra de la Independencia Argentina*. Publicación oficial. 2 ed. 4 vols. in 3. Buenos Aires, 1900-1902.

The official correspondence of the military commanders of the forces of the junta of Buenos Aires and succeeding governments, arranged chronologically by battles. Volume I., through 1813; II., to 1818; III., to the end of San Martín's campaigns in Peru; IV., the Brazilian war.

27. *La Provincia de Entre-Ríos*. Obra descriptiva escrita con Motivo de la Exposición Universal de Chicago, bajo la Dirección de la Comisión nombrada por el Exmo. Gobierno de la Provincia, por Decreto de Fecha 10 de Julio de 1892. Ed. by Alejandro Carbó, Presidente de la Comisión. Paraná (Argentina), 1893.

Contains a historical section, which, however, is not of any great value.

28. *Publicação official de Documentos interessantes para la Historia e Costumes de S. Paulo*. 43 vols., São Paulo (Brazil).

A valuable collection for intensive study of Brazilian history, particularly that of the colonial period. Volume XXVI, "Correspondencia do Governo General, 1815-1822", has some material on Artigas.

29. *El redactor de la Asamblea (1813-15): Reimpresión facsimilar.* Buenos Aires, 1913.

A facsimile edition of the original *redactor*, or journal, of the Assembly of 1813. Of decided value on matters pertaining to the assembly.

30. *Registro oficial de la República Argentina que comprende los Documentos espedidos desde 1810 hasta 1873.* 50 vols., Buenos Aires, 1879.

Volume I. (1810-21) is of considerable value, especially in establishing a check on unofficial copies of various documents. Likewise it contains many items otherwise unavailable, such as the very valuable "Appendix of military grades, etc."

31. *Revista del Archivo General Administrativo, 6 Colección de Documentos para servir al Estudio de la Historia de la República Oriental del Uruguay.* Montevideo, 1918-1920. (In several volumes of which only a few have been available).

The official Uruguayan compilation, but far from complete. Its content is restricted almost exclusively to the colonial period.

#### IV. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTARY COLLECTIONS

In addition to the official governmental publications sundry other documentary collections have appeared in printed form, particularly since the centenary of the "revolución de Mayo". Much valuable material is contained in some, but others are merely duplications of what already is available.

32. *Artigas: Estudio histórico. Documentos justificativos.* Ed. by Clemente L. Fregeiro. Montevideo, 1886.

A collection of documents pertaining to Artigas up to the time of his separation from the siege of Montevideo, most of them gathered from the archives of Paraguay. Although some of the documents reproduced are available in printed form in their entirety and some in part, notably in the appendices to Bollo and Barbagelata, this is the most complete collection accessible; without it no thorough study of the earlier period of Artigas's political career can be made except by direct access to the archives themselves.

Fregeiro, the editor of the collection, is author of a history of Argentina, and at his death in 1923 left an unpublished manuscript work on Artigas, which latter is now in possession of Professor Levene of the University of La Plata, La Plata, Argentina.

33. *Contribución documental para la Historia del Río de la Plata.* 5 vols., Buenos Aires, 1913.

A very valuable collection of documents.

34. *Correspondencia de Artigas, 1817-19. Campaña del Litoral.* Ed. by Luis Carve. In *Revista Histórica*, II. (Montevideo, 1908).

A collection of letters of Artigas now in the Biblioteca Nacional at Montevideo. Some twenty-six printed pages are covered.

35. Correspondencia de Paulo José da Silva Gama, 1802-1825. In *Revista Trimestral*, XLI. (1869).

Silva Gama was governor of Rio Grande do Sul during the Artigas period.

36. Correspondencia literaria, histórica y política del General Bartolomé Mitre. 3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1912.

Containing many isolated items of general bearing on Artigas, whose biography General Mitre once considered writing.

37. Documentación inédita de Artigas. In *Revista Histórica*, XI. (Montevideo, 1923).

A miscellaneous assemblage of previously unpublished correspondence of Artigas found in the archives of Rio Grande do Sul, Entre Ríos, and Santiago del Estero.

38. Documentos del archivo de Belgrano. 6 vols., Buenos Aires, 1913.

Of very little value for Artigas, though an excellent compilation.

39. Documentos del Archivo de Indias (inéditos)—El Éxodo Oriental—Instigación a Artigas a la Deserción. Ed. by Antonio Bachini, in *Revista Histórica*, IV. (Montevideo, 1910).

40. Documentos del Archivo de Pueyrredón. 4 vols., Buenos Aires, 1912.

Volume III. and IV. deal with the period after 1810, but are of no great value for Artigas.

41. Documentos del Archivo de San Martín. 12 vols., Buenos Aires, 1910.

A decidedly valuable collection of documents relating to San Martín, many of which have direct or indirect value to a study of Artigas.

42. Epistolario de los Generales Ferré y Paz. Ed. by Francisco Centeno. Buenos Aires, 1923.

A valuable collection of correspondence covering the period from 1822 to 1842, and including some otherwise unavailable material for Artigas.

Ferré was associated with General Estanislao López, the federalist leader in Santa Fe, for a time, but subsequently was exiled as a unitarist.

43. Páginas de historia diplomática. Los Estados Unidos y las Repúblicas Hispanoamericanas de 1810 á 1830. Ed. by Francisco José Urrutía. Bogotá, 1917.

A documentary collection of no little importance for northern South America, and some for southern South America. The material is, in the main, however, duplicated in the Manning collection.

44. Primeros pasos para la defensa de 1816. In *Revista Histórica*, III. (Montevideo, 1909).

A forty page collection of Artigas's letters to his lieutenants in regard to defense against the Portuguese invasion, 1816.

45. Recueil historique complet des Traités, Conventions, Capitulations, Armistices et autres Actes diplomatiques de tous les États de l'Amérique Latine compris entre le Golfe du Mexique et le Cap de Horn, depuis l'Année 1493 jusqu'à nos Jours. Ed. by Carlos Calvo. 11 vols., Paris, 1862-1869.



A very valuable collection of general treaties, etc. Volume V., 1805-1815, contains some documents pertaining to the period of Artigas.

46. *Receuil historique complet des Traités, Conventions, Capitulations, Armistices et autres Actes diplomatiques de tous les États de l'Amérique Latine compris entre le Golfe du Mexique et le Cap de Horn, depuis l'Année 1493 jusqu'à nos Jours. Deuxième Période.* Ed. by Carlos Calvo. 5 vols., Paris, 1864-1867.

A plethora of pertinent material.

47. *Trabajos legislativos de las primeras Asambleas Argentinas, desde la Junta de 1811 hasta la Disolución del Congreso de 1827.* Ed. by Uladislao S. Frías. 3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1882-1886.

An invaluable compilation of the acts of the various Argentine legislative bodies throughout the period of the struggle for independence.

## V. BOOKS AND ARTICLES

### A. Books and articles directly on Artigas

These are not plentiful, nor are they always reliable. The best of the following are Acevedo and Barbagelata.

48. Acevedo, Eduardo: *José Artigas, Jefe de los Orientales y Protector de los Pueblos libres. Su Obra cívica. Alegato histórico.* 3 vols., Montevideo, 1909-1910.

The most valuable and least dispensable of all the items which have been used in a study of Artigas. Three long volumes contain an exhaustive compilation of various excerpts from all the commentaries available, some of them running for pages. According to its author all material available in the La Plata region was examined in the preparation of the work. Every commentator, whether favorable or unfavorable, is given his day in court.

The sole drawbacks of any consequence are the rather serious omission of citations by page and the lack of system in the handling of the "fuentes de información" or bibliography. Too, the rather ponderous nature of the work makes ready reference difficult.

49. Artigas: the Rob Roy of La Plata. In *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, new series, VII. (1862).

A generally vague account, purely traditional.

50. Barbagelata, Hugo David: *Artigas y la Revolución Americana.* 2 ed. Paris, 1930.

A revision and enlargement of an earlier edition (1913).

Next to the work of Acevedo (*supra*), this is without question the best on Artigas. For scholarly handling and lucid style it is superior to Acevedo.

51. Barbagelata, Lorenzo: Artigas antes de 1810. In *Revista Histórica*, I. (Montevideo, 1907).

This is practically the only study of the early life and career of Artigas.

52. Falco, Angel: *La Leyenda del Patriarca (Canto a Artigas).* Montevideo, 1911.

An extensive panegyric poem, seventy-five pages in length.

53. Kelly, Hazel H.: Artigas and the Movement for Independence in Uruguay. An unpublished thesis in partial completion of requirement for the degree of master of arts at Stanford University (1929).

A good piece of work, but almost too short and general in its handling to give its subject adequate treatment.

54. Lamy Dupuy, Pedro: Artigas en el Cautiverio (Estudio compendioso, documental, narrativo, y crítico). Montevideo, 1913.

The nearest approach yet made to an adequate handling of Artigas in Paraguay.

55. Maeso, Justo: *El General Artigas y su Época. Apuntes documentados para la Historia Oriental*. 2 vols., Montevideo, 1885.

The best early study of Artigas. Its value, however, is hampered by the poor arrangement of its various component chapters.

56. Miranda, Héctor: Artigas, el Protector. In Salaverri, *Florilegio de Pro-sistas Uruguayos*, Valencia (Spain), 1918.

A beautifully written eulogy, strangely lacking in the bombast customary to such productions.

57. Moreno, Fulgencio: Artigas y el Paraguay. In *Revista Histórica*, V. (Montevideo, 1913).

Dealing not only with Artigas in Paraguay but with his earlier relations to that country.

58. Pereira, Antonio: El General D. José Artigas ante la Historia. Montevideo, 1877.

One of the most panegyric of the works on Artigas. Comparatively unimportant.

59. Ramírez, Carlos María: Artigas: Debate entre "El Sudamérica" de Buenos Aires y "La Razón" de Montevideo. 3 ed. Montevideo, 1916.

An excellent compilation of a series of articles appearing in the two newspapers mentioned. Ramírez is a staunch defender of Artigas.

60. Torterolo, Leogardo Miguel: Artigas y el Cabildo de Corrientes. In *Revista del Instituto Histórico y Geográfico*, V. (Montevideo, 1925).

61. Zorrilla de San Martín, Juan: *La Epopeya de Artigas. Historia de los Tiempos heroicos de la República Oriental del Uruguay*. 2d ed. 2 vols., Barcelona, 1916.

An exhaustive panegyric written for popular consumption by one of Uruguay's leading men of letters. Lack of citations lessens the value of the work.

This work originally appeared in the *Revista Histórica*, II., III., (Montevideo, 1909-1910).

## B. Other Books and Articles

### (1) Hispanic America in general

Few of the general histories of Hispanic America give much space to Artigas, and fewer yet give him careful treatment. Most are of

value only for setting the background. Several representative general histories and some specialized items have been included.

62. André, Marius: *La Fin de l'Empire Espagnol d'Amérique*. Paris, 1922.

Also available in a Spanish translation.

63. Akers, Charles E.: *History of South America, 1854-1904*. London, 1904.

The introductory portions of this work are of some aid to a study of Artigas.

64. Arosemena, Justo: *Estudios constitucionales sobre los Gobiernos de la América Latina*. 2d ed. 2 vols., Paris, 1878.

Contains a verbatim copy of the constitution of each Hispanic American country, supplemented by an extensive sketch of the antecedents of each, as well as general and special observations.

The comments on the antecedents of the Uruguayan constitution are helpful in any study of the constitutional aspects of Artigas's régime.

65. Coroláu, José: *América: Historia de su Colonización, Dominación, é Independencia*. 4 vols., Barcelona, 1895.

At best only a mediocre history of Hispanic America.

66. Crichfield, George W.: *American Supremacy. The Rise and Progress of the Latin American Republics and their Relations to the United States under the Monroe Doctrine*. 2 vols., New York, 1908.

A poorly organized and in a large measure unsubstantiated work saturated with the North American provincialism of a quarter century ago.

67. Dawson, Thomas C.: *The South American Republics*. 2 vols., New York, 1903.

One of the best histories of South America in the English language.

68. Deberle, Alfred Joseph: *Histoire de l'Amérique depuis la Conquête jusqu'à nos Jours*. 3d ed. Paris, 1897.

A very inaccurate account of the history of Hispanic America.

An unauthorized and unacknowledged translation into Spanish of one of the earlier editions under the pseudonym of "Un americano" was published in Barcelona, 1878, and from it an English translation was made, appearing in London, 1899.

69. Enock, C. Reginald: *Spanish America*. 2 vols., London, 1920.

A popular work by a prolific author, it contains considerably more discussion of Artigas than is generally found in similar works—much of it taken verbatim from Koebel, *Uruguay*.

70. García Calderón, Francisco: *Latin America: its Rise and Progress*. New York, 1915.

A very good general account of Hispanic America written by a well-known Peruvian.

71. Gelpi y Ferro, Gil: *Estudios sobre la América. Conquista, Colonización, Gobiernos coloniales y Gobiernos independientes*. 2 vols., Havana, 1864-1866.

Not a work of any great merit.

72. León Suárez, José: *Carácter de la Revolución americana. Un nuevo Punto de Vista mas verdadero y justo sobre la Independencia Hispano-Americana*. 4th ed. Buenos Aires, 1919.

A general study of the wars of independence by an Hispanophile Argentinian.

73. Manera y Cao, Enrique: *Cómo y porque se perdieron las Colonias Hispano-americanas*. Havana, 1895.

A die-hard Spanish royalist account, apparently written with the hope of influencing the Cubans on behalf of Spain. At best it is of only slight value for any purpose.

74. Miller, John: *Memoirs of General Miller in the Service of the Republic of Peru*. 2 vols., London, 1828.

A valuable source of information for the west coast, where its author obtained firsthand information. The sketch of La Plata history is, however, of little or no value.

75. Mitre, Bartolomé: *Historia de San Martín y de la Emancipación Sudamericana*. 2d ed. 3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1890.

One of Mitre's best productions.

76. ————: *The Emancipation of South America*. Being a condensed Translation by William Pilling of *The History of San Martin* by General Don Bartolomé Mitre, first constitutional President of the Argentine Republic. London, 1893.

77. Navarro y Lamarca, Carlos: *Compendio de la Historia de América*. 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1910-1913.

A standard general work which is being translated for the Inter-American Historical Series.

78. O'Leary, Daniel Florencio: *Bolívar y las Repúblicas del Sur*, Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, y Bolivia. Madrid, 1919.

Not of great value.

79. Palacio, Manuel ("A South American", pseudonym): *Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America; or an Account of the Origin, Progress, and Actual State of the War carried on between Spain and Spanish America; containing the principal Facts which have marked the Struggle*. London, 1817.

80. Paxson, Frederic Logan: *Independence of the South American Republics*. Philadelphia, 1903.

A good general account, but of little or no value for the present study.

81. Pereyra, Carlos: *Historia de América Española*. 8 vols., Madrid, 1920-1926.

An excellent general history by a wellknown Mexican historian. Volume IV., "Las repúblicas del Plata", gives a good general discussion of Uruguay during the Artigas period.

82. Pesquero, Javier Fernández: *América: su Geografía, su Historia*. Madrid, 1920.

A general history which pretends to cover all of America. Actually it is so unreliable and so full of serious typographical errors as to be valueless for any purpose except amusement.

83. Quesada, Vicente Gaspar: *Historia diplomática Latino-Americana*. 3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1918-1920.

Originally published in the form of miscellaneous articles in the *Nueva Revista de Buenos Aires* (1880-1885). Volume II., *La Política del Brasil*



con las Repúblicas del Río de la Plata'', and volume III, ''La Política imperialista del Brasil y la Cuestión de Límites de las Repúblicas Sudamericanas'', both contain valuable material, though Quesada displays a rather pronounced bias against Brazil.

84. Robertson, William Spence: *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States*. New York, 1923.

An invaluable work for study of its subject, but only incidental to Artigas.

85. ———— *History of the Latin-American Nations*. New York, 1927.

86. ———— *The rise of the Spanish-American Republics as told in the Lives of their Liberators*. New York, 1918.

One of the best biographical histories of the period in English, though necessarily very cursory on some.

87. Santibáñez, Enrique: *Historia de la América Latina, compendiada desde los Tiempos mas remotos hasta nuestros Días*. New York, 1918.

A textbook written by a Mexican who is better acquainted with his own part of Hispanic America and its history than with that of the La Plata region.

88. Shepherd, William Robert: *The Hispanic Nations of the New World; a Chronicle of our Southern Neighbors*. New Haven (Connecticut), 1919.

89. Torrente, Mariano: *Historia de la Revolución Hispano-Americana*. 3 vols., Madrid, 1829-1830.

The standard royalist history, presenting a valuable contribution based largely on material in the archives of Spain.

## (2) Argentine Republic

Books and articles primarily on Argentine subjects but relating to Artigas are of a variety of types: general histories, biographies, provincial histories, etc. Of general accounts the work of Mitre is best, while some good biographies and provincial histories stand out.

90. Alberdi, Juan Bautista: *Obras completas*. 8 vols., Buenos Aires, 1886.

Contains a number of general discussions of the question of federalism, as well as the author's ''El Imperio del Brasil ante la Democracia de América'', in volume VI.

91. Álvarez, Juan: *Estudios sobre las Guerras civiles Argentinas*. Buenos Aires, 1914.

92. ———— *Ensayo sobre la historia de Santa Fe*. Buenos Aires, 1910.

A general sketch of the history of the Argentinian province of Santa Fe. Its chief value lies in the documents which it reproduces.

93. Álvarez Comas, M.: *Santa Fe: el Federalismo y el Patriarca de la Federación*. Buenos Aires, 1929.

A modern work stressing the influence of Estanislao López.

94. Antokoletz, Daniel: *Histoire de la Diplomatie Argentine*. Paris, 1914.

''Volume one'' (the only one published) covers the years 1810 to 1814 in a very thorough and authoritative fashion.

95. Arcos, Santiago: *La Plata: Étude historique*. Paris, 1865.

A general study of the La Plata area by a Chilean. Its chief value is for the Rosas period.

96. Ayarragaray, Lucas: *La Anarquía Argentina y el Caudillismo. Estudio Psicológico de los Orígenes Argentinos*. 2d ed. Buenos Aires, 1925.

Helpful to the study of Artigas, but of greater value for the Rosas period.

97. Beccar Varela, Adrián: *Juan Martín de Pueyrredón*. Buenos Aires, 1924.

A good biography of Artigas's great opponent, but, like most biographies, somewhat biased.

98. Bilbao, Manuel: *Historia de Rosas*. Buenos Aires, 1919.

Only incidentally valuable for Artigas.

99. Brossard, Alfred de: *Considerations historiques et politiques sur les Républiques de La Plata dans leurs Rapports avec la France et l'Angleterre*. Paris, 1850.

Primarily on the Rosas period. Its author was connected with the Anglo-French intervention.

100. Cady, John F.: *Foreign Intervention in the Rio de la Plata, 1838-50*. A thesis in history presented to the graduate school of the University of Pennsylvania in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy. Philadelphia, 1929.

Only incidentally relevant to the subject of the present work. It does, however, contain an introductory chapter on the period 1808-1838 and an extensive bibliography. The latter, despite its absolute lack of intelligent form and its gross errors, is nevertheless of value for bibliographical purposes.

101. Cailliet-Bois, Teodoro: *Ensayo de Historia naval Argentina*. Buenos Aires, 1929.

A valuable work covering the entire naval history of Argentina, but stressing the wars of independence.

102. Carranza, Ángel Justiniano: *Campañas navales de la República Argentina: Cuadros históricos*. 4 vols., Buenos Aires, 1914-1916.

Volumes I.-III. cover the wars of independence, volume IV. the war with Brazil. Considerable corollary information is included; the work is replete with fairly detailed biographical sketches. A documentary appendix is at the end of each volume.

The work lacks, however, any discussion of privateering and is strongly biased against Artigas.

103. Cervera, Manuel M.: *Historia de la Ciudad y Provincia de Santa Fe, 1573-1853*. 2 vols., Santa Fe (Argentina), 1907.

An extremely detailed work, especially valuable to any studies dealing with the Argentine littoral provinces.

104. Escardó, Florencio: *Reseña histórica, estadística y descriptiva, con Tradiciones orales de las Repúblicas Argentina y Oriental del Uruguay, desde el Descubrimiento del Río de la Plata hasta el Año de 1876*. Montevideo, 1876.

A mere compilation of oral traditions, of little or no value for historical purposes.

105. Estrada, José Manuel: *Lecciones sobre la Historia de la República Argentina*. 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1898.

A good history, but not of any outstanding merit.

106. Ferré, Pedro: *Memoria del Brigadier General Ferré*. Octubre de 1821 a Diciembre de 1842. Contribución a la Historia de la Provincia de Corrientes en sus Luchas por la Libertad y contra la Tiranía, suscrita por el General Ferré en febrero de 1845 en San Borja (Brasil). Buenos Aires, 1921.

A compendious tome of close to a thousand pages, of which a quarter is devoted to the memoir and the balance to a collection of documents, many of which are not otherwise available in printed form.

The work, however, is of but slight direct value for Artigas.

107. Frías, Bernardo: *Historia del General Don Martín Güemes y de la Provincia de Salta ó sea de la Revolución de 1810*. 3 vols., Salta (Argentina), 1911.

An excellent work which seeks to correlate the history of Salta in the time of Güemes with that of other parts of South America.

108. Funes, Gregorio: *Ensayo de la Historia civil de Buenos Aires, Tucumán y Paraguay*. 2d ed. 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1856.

Originally published in 1816 under subsidy from the government of Buenos Aires. An English translation, including a continuation by Dean Funes to cover the period 1816-1818, is available in Manning and in *State Papers*.

109. Gancedo, Alejandro: *Dorrego*. *Apuntes históricos*. Buenos Aires, 1907.

A good short biography of Manuel Dorrego.

110. García, Manuel Rafael: *El Directorio de las Provincias Unidas de la Plata y sus Relaciones exteriores*. In *Revista del Río de la Plata*, XII. (1876).

An absolute essential for any study of the diplomatic phases of the Portuguese invasions. Its author was a son of Manuel José García, special commissioner for Buenos Aires at Rio de Janeiro in Alvarez's and Pueyrredón's time.

111. García Al-Deguer, Juan: *Historia de la Argentina*. 2 vols., Madrid, 1902-1903.

A good, concise account of the period of the wars of independence is contained in volume II.

112. García Vera, Félix: *Biografía del General Juan Martín de Pueyrredón (Ensayo)*. Buenos Aires, 1914.

A eulogistic biography which has but slight value for Artigas.

113. Garzón, Ignacio: *Crónica de Córdoba*. 3 vols., Córdoba (Argentina), 1898-1902.

A very good account of the history of Córdoba, including the relations of that province with Artigas.

114. Gómez, Hernán Félix: *Desde la Revolución de Mayo al Tratado del Cuadrilátero*. *Historia de la Provincia de Corrientes*. Corrientes (Argentina), 1929.

The second of a series of historical works on Corrientes published under a subsidy from the government of that province. Professor Gómez has dug deeply into the archives of his own and other provinces, and presents a well annotated and quite valuable work based largely on manuscript material.

115. Hudson, Damián: *Recuerdos históricos sobre la Provincia de Cuyo*. 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1898.

A work of merit, but of only casual value for Artigas.

116. King, John Anthony: *Twenty-four Years in the Argentine Republic; embracing its civil and military History, an Account of its political Condition, before and during the Administration of Governor Rosas; his Course of Policy; the Causes and Character of his Interference with the Government of Montevideo, and the Circumstances which led to the Interposition of England and France*. New York, 1846.

A standard contemporary account of Rosas. Its author, who at the outset of his South American career served in one or two engagements under Ramírez against Artigas, is woefully ignorant and inaccurate in regard to the latter. *The Edinburgh Review*, LXXXVII. (1848), contains a review of the work, in which is given an extended discussion of the history of the period, but though it takes King severely to task, it, too, is replete with misinformation.

117. Koebel, William Henry: *The Romance of the River Plate*. 2 vols., London, 1914.

Volume II. includes chapters on various leading figures of the Río de la Plata during the first half of the nineteenth century. That on Artigas is to a large degree a reprint from the same author's *Uruguay*.

118. Lamas, Andrés: *Rivadavia; su Obra política y cultural*. Buenos Aires, 1915.

Of but incidental value for Artigas.

119. Lassaga, Ramón J.: *Historia de López*. Buenos Aires, 1881.

A standard work on Estanislao López, but better on López's later career than that of his association with Artigas.

120. Lazcano, Martín V.: *Las Sociedades secretas, políticas y masónicas en Buenos Aires (Acción desarrollada Pro-independencia, Unión y Organización de la Nación Argentina, y en Bien de la Humanidad)*. 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1927.

A well-handled treatment of the activities of the Lautaro lodge and other secret organizations.

121. Levene, Ricardo: *Lecciones de Historia Argentina*. 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1913.

An excellent textbook which has been selected for the Inter-American Historical Series.

122. Levillier, Roberto: *Orígenes Argentinos: la Formación de un gran Pueblo*. Paris, 1912.

A general work by one of Argentina's best scholars of the present day. Of but slight value for Artigas, however.

123. López, Vicente Fidel: *Debate histórico: Refutación a las Comprobaciones históricas sobre la Historia de Belgrano*. 3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1916.

A reply to Mitre's *Comprobaciones históricas*. Chiefly valuable for the early period (1808-1810) and of little aid on Artigas.

124. ———: *Historia de la República Argentina. Su Origen, su Revolución, y su Desarrollo político hasta 1852*. 4th ed. 10 vols., Buenos Aires, 1926.

A standard history of Argentina to 1829. It is, however, decidedly biased



and in many respects absolutely undependable, since its author notoriously has depended on "tradition" rather than documentary evidence.

125. ———— *Manual de la Historia Argentina*. 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1920.

A condensation of the same author's *Historia Argentina*, and useful only as a guide to that work.

126. ———— *La Revolución Argentina*. Su Origen, sus Guerras, y su Desarrollo político hasta 1830. 4 vols., Buenos Aires, 1881.

This work first appeared in serial form in *Revista del Río de la Plata*, IV.-XI., under the title, "El Año XX". Here, as in his other writings, López has manifested his insatiable hatred and antipathy toward Artigas. There is, however, much of value in the four volumes, even though it is necessary always to make independent corroboration. Mechanically, it is weak and difficult to follow, due to the author's failure to break it into chapters, while its meager index references are insufficient.

127. Magariños Cervantes, Alejandro: *Estudios históricos, políticos y sociales sobre el Río de la Plata*. Paris, 1854.

Not a work of outstanding merit.

128. Mansilla, Lucio Victorio: *Rosas: Ensayo histórico psicológico*. 2d ed. Paris, 1899.

Of but casual value for the wars of independence.

129. Marbois du Graty, Alfred: *La Confederation Argentine*. Paris, 1858.

Primarily the Rosas era and covering the wars of independence only incidentally.

130. Martínez, Benigno T.: *El General Francisco Ramírez en la Historia de Entre Ríos*. In *La Nueva Revista de Buenos Aires*, XII. (1884).

A very general sketch, neither well nor deeply handled.

131. *Memorias y Autobiografías*. Ed. by Adolfo P. Carranza. 3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1910.

A valuable collection. However, only the memoirs of Agrelo and Posadas bear on Artigas, and the latter is otherwise available.

132. Mitre, Bartolomé: *Comprobaciones históricas*. Buenos Aires, 1916.

Mitre's defense of his *Historia de Belgrano* against the criticism of Vicente Fidel López.

133. ———— *Historia de Belgrano y de la Independencia Argentina*. 6th ed. 4 vols., Buenos Aires, 1913.

One of the best South American histories, the work of one of Argentina's most outstanding men. It is, however, not without bias of a sort.

134. Nuñez, Ignacio Benito. *An Account, historical, political, and statistical, of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata: with an Appendix concerning the Usurpation of Monte Video by the Portuguese and Brazilian Governments*. London, 1825.

A translation of a contemporary account from the Spanish.

135. Oliver, Manuel María: *El primer Director supremo. Crónica de 1814. La Vida de Gervasio Antonio de Posadas*. Buenos Aires, 1914.

A strongly biased work, but withal of some value.

136. Otero, José Pacifico: *L'Argentine devant l'Histoire*. Paris, 1922.  
A helpful short volume covering the period 1810-1829.
137. ———— *La révolution Argentine, 1810-1816*. Paris, 1917.
138. Palomeque, Alberto: *Los Orígenes de la Diplomacia Argentina*. 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1905.  
A valuable work for the diplomacy of the wars of independence.
139. ———— *La revolución de mayo*. In *Revista Histórica*, IX.-XII. (Montevideo, 1917-1924).  
Though based entirely on so-called "secondary" material, this is a valuable contribution to the historiography of the wars of independence.
140. Paz, José María: *Memorias Póstumas del General José María Paz*. Madrid, 1917.  
General Paz was prominent in the wars of independence and a leading figure in the unitarist struggle against Rosas. The Madrid edition is volume I. (the wars of independence) of the original three volume work.
141. Pelliza, Mariano A.: *La Dictadura de Rosas*. Buenos Aires, 1917.  
Like most studies of the Rosas period, this work has considerable introductory material on the wars of independence.
142. ———— *Dorrego en la Historia de los Partidos unitario y federal*. Buenos Aires, 1878.  
One of the best treatments of the rise of federalism to the late 1820's.
143. ———— *Historia Argentina*. 3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1888.  
A very good, but not an excellent history.
144. Peralta Alvear, Carlos: *El Directorio de Posadas y la Actuación de Alvear*. Buenos Aires, 1914.  
Important for the struggle of Artigas against Alvear and Posadas.
145. Piaggio, Agustín: *Influencia del Clero en la Independencia Argentina (1810-1820)*. Barcelona, 1912.  
A synthesis of clerical activities on both sides during the first decade of the wars of independence.
146. Pilling, William ("An estanciero", pseudonym): *Ponce de León*. The Rise of the Argentine Republic. 2d ed. Buenos Aires and London, 1910.  
An excellent historical novel by the English translator of Mitre's *Historia de San Martín*. For purposes of background on the period 1806-1810 it is of considerable value. The novel itself is supplemented by an "epilogue" of sketches which seek to bring the history up to the declaration of independence in 1816.
147. Posadas, Gervasio Antonio: *Memorias de Gervasio Antonio Posadas, Director supremo de las Provincias del Río de la Plata en 1814*. Madrid, 1920.  
Helpful but not essential.  
These memoirs are also contained in *Memorias y Autobiografías*.
148. Ramos Mejía, Francisco: *El Federalismo Argentino*. Buenos Aires, 1915.  
A general, non-factual account of federalism.
149. Ramos Mejía, José María: *Rosas y su Tiempo*. 2d ed. 3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1907.

150. Ravignani, Emilio: *Historia constitucional de la República Argentina*. 3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1926.

An excellent constitutional history, in most respects superior to that of Varela.

151. Rodríguez, Gregorio F.: *El General Soler. Contribución histórica. Documentos inéditos. 1783-1849*. Buenos Aires, 1907.

A work of but incidental value to a study of Artigas.

152. ———— *Historia de Alvear. Con la Acción evolutivo de la Revolución Argentina de 1812 á 1816*. 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1913.

An exceptionally valuable work based to a large degree on a study of original documents, some of which have been used by no other historian. Though Rodríguez lacks the splenetic bias against Artigas which has characterized most of the earlier Argentinian historians, his work is nevertheless somewhat clouded by his assumption of a strong unitarist attitude and even by occasional serious omissions of facts detrimental to Alvear. Moreover, there is a tendency at times to draw conclusions unwarranted by the very evidence presented.

Vagueness in making citations from other published works, coupled with the lack of a bibliography, materially weakens the value of the work, though even despite these faults it is well above the average. The appendix, containing voluminous Artigas-Barreiro correspondence, is of considerable value in the study of Artigas.

A valuable criticism and answer to the attack on Artigas is available in a 44-page article, "La Historia de Alvear . . . por G. F. Rodríguez", by Pablo Blanco Acevedo, in *Revista Histórica*, VI. (Montevideo, 1913).

153. Rodríguez, Pablo Julio: *Sinopsis histórica de la Provincia de Córdoba*. Buenos Aires, 1907.

A short, concise account of the history of Córdoba, whose value is relatively small, due to its straight chronicle nature and the lack of discriminating selection as to facts to be included.

154. Ruiz Moreno, Martín: *Contribución a la Historia de Entre Ríos*. 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1914.

A revised edition of the same author's *El General Don Francisco Ramírez en la Vida pública*, which appeared in 1894.

Despite the change in title the revised work is in its earlier pages essentially a biography of Ramírez, and tends strongly to distort the relative positions of Ramírez and others.

155. Saldías, Adolfo: *La Evolución republicana durante la Revolución Argentina*. Madrid, 1919.

A valuable work particularly for the study of the federalist and monarchist movements in the Río de la Plata basin.

156. ———— *Historia de la Confederación Argentina—Rozas y su Época*. 5 vols., Buenos Aires, 1892.

Volume I., covering the period of wars of independence, treats fairly extensively of Artigas.

A new eight-volume edition of this work is now being brought out, the first volume of which appeared in Buenos Aires in 1929.

157. Urien, Carlos M.: *Soberana Asamblea general constituyente de 1813*. Buenos Aires, 1913.

A study of the assembly of 1813, extensively padded with general history of the period. Externally it indicates an attempt at scholarship, with paged citations . . . and a bibliography of 24 titles. A great bias against Artigas is shown.

158. Varela, Luis V.: *Historia constitucional de la República Argentina*. 4 vols., La Plata (Argentina), 1910.

A valuable work despite its author's unscholarly attitude in refusing to make citations of his authorities. Volume IV. contains documents on the early part of the independence period (1808-1811).

159. Vedia, Agustín de: *Martín García y la Jurisdicción del Plata*. Buenos Aires, 1908.

A helpful history of the island of Martín García, valuable especially for the naval history of the La Plata.

160. Zimmerman Saavedra, A.: *Don Cornelio de Saavedra, Presidente de la Junta de Gobierno de 1810*. Bosquejo histórico documentado. Buenos Aires, 1909.

A valuable aid to any study of the internal struggle during the wars of independence.

161. Zinny, Antonio: *Historia de los Gobernadores de las Provincias Argentinas desde 1810 hasta la Fecha, precedida de la Cronología de los Adelantados, Gobernadores, y Virreyes del Río de la Plata*. 3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1879.

A concise chronicle of the governors of the various Argentine provinces through 1873. Though it does not give anything on Uruguay during the Spanish period, it does contain valuable summarized accounts of the activities of Artigas's supporters in the other provinces.

### (3) Brazil

The available material on the Brazilian phase of Artigas and his career is comparatively limited, though of better average quality than that of Argentina. Pereira da Silva and Rocha Pombo both present good accounts.

162. Andrade, Maria G. L. de: *Resumo da Historia do Brazil para Uso das Escolas primarias Brasileiras*. 2d ed. New York, 1920.

A typical school textbook. Handy for reference purposes, though intensely nationalistic and replete with quaint misrepresentations of Río de la Plata history.

163. Armitage, John: *The History of Brazil from the Period of the Arrival of the Braganza Family in 1808 to the Abdication of Dom Pedro I in 1831*, compiled from state Documents and other original Sources, forming a Continuation to Southey's History. 2 vols., London, 1836.

Not of much value for the study of Artigas.

164. Beaupaire Rohan, Henrique de: *Viagem de Cuyabá ao Rio do Sul e Santa Catharina em 1846*. . . . In *Revista Trimestral*, IX. (Rio de Janeiro, 1847).



Beaurepaire Rohan was among those few who visited Artigas in Paraguay.

165. Fernandes Pinheiro, José Feliciano: *Memorias do Vizconde de S. Leopoldo José Feliciano Fernandes Pinheiro*. In *Revista Trimensal*, XXXVII. (Rio de Janeiro, 1874).

Viscount São Leopoldo served as an officer of the Portuguese army during the invasion of 1816.

166. Freitas, Leopoldo de: *Historia militar de Brasil: Esboço*. São Paulo (Brazil), 1911.

A good military history. The account of the Portuguese invasions of the Banda Oriental is particularly valuable.

167. Homem de Mello, Francisco Ignacio Marcoudes: *Indice chronologico dos Factos mais notaveis da Historia da Capitania, depois Provincia, de S. Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul*. In *Revista Trimensal*, XLI. (Rio de Janeiro, 1879).

A concise, simple guide to the history of Rio Grande do Sul.

168. Moraes, João: *Guerra do Sul*. In *Revista do Instituto Histórico de São Paulo*, VI. (São Paulo, Brazil, 1901).

An excellent concise account of the invasions of 1816 to 1820 from the Brazilian point of view.

169. Moraes Lara, Diogo Arouche de: *Memoria da Campanha de 1816, com a Exposição dos Acontecimentos militares das Fronteiras de Missões, e Rio Pardo, da Capitania do Rio Grande de S. Pedro do Sul, no Territorio inimigo, occupado pelas Tropas da mesma Capitania*. In *Revista Trimensal*, VII. (Rio de Janeiro, 1845).

The same volume of the *Revista Trimensal* contains an "Apendice a Memoria da Campanha de 1816" and a "Breve Noticia biographica sobre o Auctor da Memoria da Campanha de Artigas", the latter by J. J. Machado d'Oliveira. Moraes Lara participated in the campaigns against Artigas and, for the Portuguese phases, his *Memoria* and biography are of considerable value.

170. Oliveira Lima, Manoel: *The Evolution of Brazil compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America*. Stanford University (California), 1914.

A short, general, non-factual work.

171. Pereira da Silva, João Manoel: *Historia da Fundação do Imperio Brasileiro*. 10 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1865.

A work of great merit, invaluable for Artigas.

172. Pinto da Rocha, Arthur: *Historia diplomática do Brasil (1a Serie)*. In *Revista Trimensal*, LXXXVII. (Rio de Janeiro, 1914).

A very valuable work for intensive research in the diplomatic history of the period.

173. Renaut, F. P.: *Le Gouvernement Portugais a Rio-da-Janeiro (1808-21)*. In *Revue d'Histoire diplomatique*, XXXVII. (Paris, 1917).

A good account of the period, especially for the diplomacy preceding the invasions.

174. Rocha Pombo, José Francisco da: *Historia do Brazil*. 10 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1905.

A good, well-annotated history. Volume VII gives an extended treatment of relations of Brazil and the Banda Oriental.

175. Silva Lisboa, Balthazar da: *Annaes do Rio de Janeiro até á chegada d'el-rei D. João VI.* 7 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1834-1835.

Not of great value for Artigas.

176. Silva Paranhos Junior, José Maria da: *Esboço biographico do General José de Abreu, Barão do Serro Largo.* In *Revista Trimensal*, XXXI. (Rio de Janeiro, 1868).

Abreu was in command of the Portuguese in the western Banda, defeating Artigas at Catalán.

177. Souza, Augusto Fausto de: *O Marechal do Exercito Francisco das Chagas Santos.* In *Revista Trimensal*, XLVI. (Rio de Janeiro, 1883).

Chagas was one of the principal subordinates of Lecor, operating chiefly in the Misiones region.

178. Varela, Alfredo: *Duas grandes Intrigas: Mysterios internacionaes attinentes ao Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay e Paraguay.* 2 vols., Oporto (Portugal), 1919.

A study of the intrigues of the monarchists of the Río de la Plata and the imperialists of Brazil, well annotated and on the whole well-handled.

179. Varnhagen, Francisco Adolpho de: *Historia general do Brazil antes da sua Separação e Independencia de Portugal.* 3d ed. 2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1907.

A standard history of Brazil.

#### (4) Paraguay

In the Paraguayan field, most of the material relevant to Artigas is to be found in works on Francia, who, like Artigas in Uruguay, practically monopolizes the history of Paraguay for the period. However, none of the works herein listed is truly outstanding.

180. Báez, Cecilio: *Ensayo sobre el Doctor Francia y la Dictadura en Sud-America.* Asunción, 1910.

A fairly unbiased essay on Francia, with but little of value on Artigas.

The author is an eminent Paraguayan—a one time provisional president of the republic at present rector of the national university.

181. ———: *Le Paraguay. Son Evolution historique et sa Situation actuelle.* Paris, 1927.

A short and authoritative general account of Paraguay.

182. Boglich, J.: *El Dictador del Paraguay.* Doctor José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia. Concordia (Argentina), 1923.

Based largely on materials in the Paraguayan archives at Asunción, this is the most thorough study of Francia yet made.

183. Carlyle, Thomas: Dr. Francia. In *Critical and miscellaneous Essays collected and republished*, VI. (London, 1869).

A valueless account from the standpoint of a historian, but amusing nevertheless.

184. Gay, João Pedro: *Historia da República Jesuitica do Paraguay desde o Descobrimento do Rio da Prata até nossos Dias, Anno de 1861*. In *Revista Trimensal*, XXVI. (Rio de Janeiro, 1865).

A very thorough study of the Misiones region, in which considerable attention is devoted to the struggle of Artigas to retain the region for the successors of the Spanish viceroyalty.

185. Koebel, William H.: *Paraguay*. London, 1917.

A work of a popular nature, but nevertheless containing much material of historical value.

186. Llanos, Julio: *El Dr. Francia*. Buenos Aires, 1907.

A sketchy work of little importance.

187. Rengger, Johann Rudolph; and I. Longchamp: *Essai historique sur la Revolution du Paraguay et le Gouvernement dictatorial du Docteur Francia*. Paris, 1827.

A famous work on Francia, containing a short contemporary account of Artigas. It has been translated into English under the title of *The Reign of Doctor Joseph Gaspard Roderick de Francia in Paraguay*. This translation is said by Carlyle to be very poor. It is also available in a Spanish translation (see below).

188. ———: *Ensayo histórico sobre la Revolución del Paraguay*. Edición especial precedida de la Biografía del Tirano Francia y continuada con algunas Observaciones históricas por Mariano Pelliza. Buenos Aires, 1883.

Translation from the French of Rengger and Longchamp (see above).

189. Robertson, John Parish; and William Parish Robertson: *Francia's Reign of terror, being a Sequel to "Letters on Paraguay"*. 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1839.

One of the standard works on the great dictator of Paraguay. Its value for Artigas lies chiefly in the atmosphere it creates and the personal touches given.

190. Washburn, Charles A.: *The History of Paraguay, with Notes of personal Observations and Reminiscences of Diplomacy under Difficulties*. 2 vols., Boston, 1871.

Washburn, who was United States minister to Paraguay during the Paraguayan war, devotes all of volume II. to that period. Volume I. contains a fairly extensive treatment of the period from 1810, but is worse than valueless due to its gross inaccuracies.

191. Zinny, Antonio: *Historia de los Gobernantes del Paraguay, 1535-1887*. Buenos Aires, 1887.

A chronicle of events under each governor. Simply handled and therefore valuable for cross-reference.

## (5) Uruguay

Besides the material directly on Artigas, the various general histories of Uruguay all devote considerable attention to his career. Indeed, most of them end with the definite achievement of Uruguayan

independence in 1830, despite their pretense at being histories of the republic.

The best of all these is Acevedo. De-María, too, is good, while Bollo and Araújo give concise accounts. Specialized material, other than that directly on Artigas, is almost entirely lacking.

192. Acevedo, Eduardo: *Manual de la Historia Uruguaya* (title varies). 7 vols., Montevideo, 1916-1930.

An excellent work by one of Uruguay's most capable historians. Very little national bias is shown in connection with Artigas, to whose activities the greater part of volume I. is devoted. These, by reason of the mechanical handling—short chapters and titled paragraphs—are easy to follow. Moreover, Acevedo, being of the newer school, subordinates mere events to the movements behind them.

193. Algorta Camusso, Rafael: *Don Dámaso Larrañaga: Apuntes para su Biografía*. In *Revista Histórica*, VII. (Montevideo, 1915).

Helpful, but by no means indispensable.

194. Antuña, Enrique M.: *Lecciones de Historia nacional*. 2 vols., Montevideo, 1900.

A brief preparatory school text covering the period 1810-1820. Its value lies in the fact that it gives a concise, chronological account of the period.

195. Araújo, Orestes: *Historia compendiada de la Civilización Uruguaya*. 2 vols., Montevideo, 1907.

An unexcelled social history of Uruguay.

196. ———: *Resumen de la Historia del Uruguay*. 3d ed. Montevideo, 1904.

An excellent résumé of Uruguayan history to 1830.

197. Bauzá, Francisco: *Historia de la Dominación Española en el Uruguay*. 2d ed., 3 vols., Montevideo, 1892.

One of the best of the earlier works on the subject. Volume III. (the 1808-1816 period) contains most of the material for Artigas, based to a large degree on documents made available by Fregeiro.

198. Berra, Francisco A.: *Bosquejo histórico de la República Oriental del Uruguay*. 4th ed. Montevideo, 1895.

The sole Uruguayan history available which takes an anti-Artigas attitude, and valuable on that account. Berra and Carlos María Ramírez engaged in considerable public controversy over their conflicting interpretations of history.

199. Blanco Acevedo, Pablo: *Historia de la República Oriental del Uruguay*. 6th ed. Montevideo, 1913.

A general, non-factual history of Uruguay to 1911.

200. Bollo, Santiago: *Manual de Historia de la República Oriental del Uruguay*. Montevideo, 1897.

One of the better single volume histories of Uruguay, coming down to 1830. The author's system of correlating events in the various parts of Hispanic America is of especial value.



201. De-María, Isidoro: *Compendio de la Historia de la República Oriental del Uruguay*. 6 vols., Montevideo, 1893-1895.

One of the best of all the histories of Uruguay, especially valuable for its economic chapters. There have been seven or more editions of this work.

202. Estrada, Dardo: *Historia y Bibliografía de la Imprenta en Montevideo, 1810-1865*. Montevideo, 1912.

An excellent work, though of value for Artigas only on such specialized subjects as his efforts to establish a newspaper.

203. Falcão Espalter, Mario: *Formación histórica del Uruguay (1810-1852)*. Madrid, 1929.

A valuable up-to-date synthesis.

204. ———— *La Vigia Lecor*. Montevideo, 1919.

A valuable work, though dealing rather with the Portuguese under Lecor in Montevideo than with Artigas.

205. Figueroa, Francisco Acuña de: *Diario histórico del Sitio de Montevideo en los Años 1812-13-14*. 2 vols., Montevideo, 1890.

The diary—in poetry—of Francisco Acuña de Figueroa, author of the Uruguayan national anthem, during the first and second sieges of Montevideo.

206. Floro Costa, Angel: *Nirvana: Estudios sociales, económicos y políticos sobre la República Oriental del Uruguay*. Montevideo, 1885.

An average account of Uruguayan history and conditions in the nineteenth century, dealing with the Artigas period only as a part of a greater whole. Some very good maps add greatly to its value.

207. Guayabos. In *Revista Histórica*, II. (Montevideo, 1908).

An account of the battle of Guayabos, chiefly from a military standpoint.

208. Koebel, William Henry: *Uruguay*. London, 1911.

An excellent work of popular nature. A full chapter is devoted to Artigas.

209. Larrañaga, Dámaso A.: *Diario desde Montevideo al Pueblo de Paysandú por el Doctor Dámaso A. Larrañaga, con Motivo de una Comisión cerca del General Artigas*. In *Revista Histórica*, III. (Montevideo, 1909).

This diary, also available in part in *Contribución documental (supra)*, is for the period, roughly, of Otorqués's command in Montevideo, and is especially valuable on account of the descriptions of Artigas himself.

210. Larrañaga, Dámaso; and José R. Guerra: *Apuntes históricos sobre el Descubrimiento y Población de la Banda Oriental del Río de la Plata y las Ciudades de Montevideo, Maldonado, Colonia, etc.* In *Revista Histórica*, VI-VII. (Montevideo, 1913-1915).

This appears to be a reissue of an older work, and is valuable particularly for the activities of Father Larrañaga himself.

211. Llambías de Oliver, R.: *Ensayo sobre el Linaje de los Artigas en el Uruguay*. In *Revista Histórica*, XI-XII. (Montevideo, 1923-1924).

A most thorough genealogical research supplemented by a list of those emigrating to Ayuí in 1811. Unfortunately, the suspension of the *Revista Histórica* in 1924 prevented the publication of Part 3, which was to have been devoted to the line of José Gervasio Artigas himself.

212. Maeso, Justo: Los primeros Patriotas orientales de 1811. Exponente de la Insurrección oriental contra la España en la Guerra de la Independencia Americana. Montevideo, 1888.

A valuable treatise of the rising of 1811.

213. Mato, Silvestre: Batalla de Las Piedras. In *Revista Histórica*, III. (Montevideo, 1909).

One of several accounts of the battle.

214. Miranda, Héctor: Las Instrucciones del Año XIII. Montevideo, 1911.

The most scholarly and thorough treatment of its subject yet done.

215. ——— Las Piedras. In *Revista Histórica*, V. (Montevideo, 1912).

Probably the best of the various monographs on Artigas's first major engagement.

216. Pascual, Antonio Diódoro de: Apuntes para la Historia de la República Oriental del Uruguay desde el Año de 1810 hasta el de 1852; basados en Documentos auténticos públicos é inéditos y en otros Datos originales extraídos de los Archivos y Bibliotecas nacionales y particulares de Europa y de la América de Origen ibero y robustecidos por la Tradición oral de Testigos oculares de sus Hechos. 2 vols., Paris, 1864.

A pro-Brazilian work written by a Brazilian of Uruguayan extraction. Pascual is inclined to be anti-Artigas, but is decidedly favorable to Rivera, whose contemporary he was.

217. Perret, Emile ("H. D.", pseudonym): Ensayo de Historia patria. 5th ed. Montevideo, 1923.

A simply handled but very full work. A translation of this is slated to appear in the Inter-American Historical Series.

218. Relação da Prata e Ornamentos pertencentes ao Saque feito aos Insurgentes nos Povos do Lado occidental do Rio Uruguay, e que por Ordem do Marechal Commandante da Provincia de Missões, conduzi á Villa de Porto Alegre. Ed. by Alexandre José de Campos. In *Revista Trimensal*, XXX. (Rio de Janeiro, 1869).

A list of the spoils taken during Chagas Santos's campaign in Misiones in 1818.

219. Saint-Foix, Olivier Claude Augustin Pouillain, count de: La République Orientale de l'Uruguay. Histoire, Géographie, Moeurs et Coutumes, Commerce et Navigation, Agriculture. Paris, 1892.

A good one volume work on Uruguay, containing a concise historical account of the Artigas period.

220. Zum Felde, Alberto: Proceso histórico del Uruguay. *Esquema de una Sociología nacional*. Montevideo, 1920.

A scholarly treatment of the development of Uruguay from the point of view of the sociologist. Only one chapter is devoted to the wars of independence, but that one is indeed "meaty". Though written by an Uruguayan, the book is notably lacking in rancor toward the Argentinians.

## (6) Other countries

Spain and the United States contribute the material from other countries. All of the items listed are of considerable direct value for Artigas.

221. Adams, John Quincy: *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*. 12 vols., Philadelphia, 1874-1875.

The public phases of the life of Adams as portrayed in his diaries.

Valuable comment on Artigas and the South American wars of independence in general is to be had.

222. Brackenridge, Henry M.: *South America—a Letter on the present State of that Country, addressed to James Monroe, President of the United States, reprinted from the Washington edition of 1817*. London, 1818.

223. ————: *Artigas y Carrera: Viaje a América del Sur hecho por Orden del Gobierno Americano en los Años 1817 y 1818 en la Fragata "Congress"*. Buenos Aires, 1924.

An annotated Spanish translation of the preceding item.

224. Rubio, Julián María: *La Infanta Carlota Joaquina y la Política de España en América (1808-1812)*. Madrid, 1920.

An excellent, exhaustive study of its subject based largely on materials in the Spanish archives and containing a lengthy appendix of documents.

## VI. PERIODICALS, INCLUDING REVIEWS OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

With the exception of the *Gaceta*, periodicals of Artigas's time are not essential to Río de la Plata studies. Several reviews of learned societies from time to time contain articles of consequence to a study of Artigas; the best of these are the *Revista Histórica* and *Revista Trimensal*.

225. *El Español*. 8 vols., London, 1810-1814.

One of the earliest revolutionary organs established in Europe. It is of only incidental value.

226. *Niles' Weekly Register*. 75 vols., Baltimore, 1811-1849.

A valuable but not invaluable periodical—a sort of *Literary Digest* in its time.

227. *Nueva Revista de Buenos Aires*. 13 vols., Buenos Aires, 1880-1885.

Miscellaneous historical articles of value for Artigas are continued in this review.

228. *Revista del Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay*. Montevideo, 1920 —(current).

A valuable work, but hardly comparable to the *Revista Histórica*.

229. *Revista del Río de la Plata. Periódico Mensual de Historia y Literatura de América*. 13 vols., Buenos Aires, 1867-1880.

A valuable periodical for historical articles.

230. *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico de São Paulo*. 13 vols., São Paulo (Brazil), 1895-1908.

Contains some miscellaneous items of some bearing on the Artigas period.

231. *Revista Histórica*. 12 vols., Montevideo, 1907-1924.

An invaluable periodical which, unfortunately for Uruguayan historiography, was suspended in 1924.

The more important of the items pertinent to a study of Artigas are noted in their proper places above.

232. *Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (title varies). 105 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1839-.

A second edition of the earlier volumes of this very valuable work was published in the late 1860's.

During the period of the empire, the Institute published an astonishing amount of invaluable material; in recent years, however, the *Revista* has deteriorated almost to the point of being little more than a collection of eulogies of deceased members of the Institute, except for several volumes on specialized subjects, which have appeared aperiodically as "Tomos Especiales."

## VII. SUPPLEMENTARY LIST

There are many other published works than those listed which are of infinite value to any study of Artigas. A very few of these, ones which would best fill the bibliographical gaps herein, are listed herewith.

233. Arocena, Carlos: *Artigas y la Civilización rural*. Montevideo, 1911.

A valuable short treatise.

234. Cavia, Pedro Feliciano: *El Protector nominal de los Pueblos libres*, Don José Artigas. Buenos Aires, 1818.

This work appears to be the basis of almost all of the defamatory writings against Artigas. Acevedo (*Artigas*, I. Chapter II) discusses it in great length and points out its own flimsy foundation and the motives of Cavia in writing it.

Cavia had been one of those expelled with Sarratea in 1813; subsequently he was a "deputy for Montevideo" (by appointment) in Alvear's time, and eventually closely associated with Rosas.

The book was written immediately prior to the arrival of the United States commission on South American affairs, presumably to influence that commission. On account of its great influence on historiography of Artigas it is invaluable.

235. Colección de Memorias y Documentos para la Historia y Geografía de los Pueblos del Río de la Plata. Ed. by Andrés Lamas. Montevideo, 1850.

An invaluable collection including such memoirs as those of Nicolás de Vedia and José Rondeau.

236. Oliveira Lima, Manoel de: *Dom João VI no Brazil, 1808-1821*. 2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1908.

A great scholar's careful study of Brazil during the period of Artigas in Uruguay.

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LEWIS W. BEALER.



RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE BRAZILIAN COLLECTION  
IN DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Among the recent acquisitions to the Brazilian collection in the library of Duke University are a number of sets of invaluable source material. Aware of the devastation which time and worms are working in colonial documents, the Brazilians have begun various projects in the effort to preserve these early records. The state of São Paulo between 1895 and 1903 issued a forty-six volume set of *Documentos Interessantes para a Historia e Costumes de S. Paulo*, containing correspondence of governors, captains, and other officials, decrees of the king, acts of various *camaras*, letters of frontiersmen, records of explorations and wars—any material of interest to one concerned with the history of this section of Brazil. The national library recently has undertaken to continue this set, fifteen volumes having been published already. From the archives of the state of São Paulo also comes the twenty-seven volume set of *Inventarios e Testamentos* (São Paulo, 1920-1921), inventories and wills copied from the first *Cartorio de Orfãos* of the city of São Paulo, dating from 1578. In the *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional* (42 vols.) much source material is available. The *Prefeitura* of the Federal District published in 1922 six volumes of documents dealing with the independence movement, facsimiles of correspondence between the Rio *camara* and the various provinces of the empire. All these documents have recently been added to the library or Duke University.

In addition to these sets, Duke University has acquired the complete collection, with the exception of seven volumes, of the *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, 1839-1929, together with the twenty-eight special volumes issued by the society. These one hundred and eighty volumes are the greatest single source for historical and geographical material dealing with Brazil. Other sets supplement this collection: *Arquivo da Independencia* (6 vols.), correspondence exchanged between Rio and nations of Europe and America during the struggle for independence; annals of the constituent assembly of 1823 (6 vols.); annals of the constituent assembly of the republic, 1889 (3 vols.); and Santarem's *Quadro Elementar das Relações Politicas e Diplomaticas de Portugal com as diversas potencias do mundo* (Paris, 1842-1860), nineteen volumes of material on the foreign relations of Portugal containing information on Brazil.

To the Brazilian collection also have been added several standard histories: J. F. da Rocha Pombo's *Historia do Brasil* (Rio and Paris, N. D.), in ten quarto volumes; Pereira da Silva's *Historia de Fundação do Imperio* (Rio de Janeiro, 1864), in seven volumes; Alfonso de E. Taunay's *Historia Geral das Bandeiras Paulistas* (São Paulo, 1925-1929), in five volumes; and Manoel de Oliveira Lima's *Dão João VI no Brasil, 1808-1821* (Rio de Janeiro, 1908), in two volumes.

Among the rarer works recently acquired is the treatise by André João Antonil (João Antonio Andreoni, S.J.), *Cultura e Opulência do Brazil por suas Drogas e Minas* (São Paulo, 1923). The *Cultura*, written by a Jesuit priest and published in 1711, in Lisbon, was suppressed immediately owing to the revelations which it made regarding the riches of the colony. Only a half dozen copies escaped. The entire work was published in 1837 in Rio from one of the original copies. The work acquired by Duke University is a new edition taken from the 1837 copy with a bio-bibliographical preface by E. Taunay (280 pp.). The *Cultura* is rated as the most accurate and invaluable source for information on Brazil during the transition period of 1700. Another of the more valuable smaller items is a collection of three treatises on Brazil written by Pe. Fernão Cardim (1540-1625), bound in a single volume entitled *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*. The treatises are in the form of letters written by the Jesuit priest during a visit of inspection made between 1583 and 1590 (440 pp.). A third classic is S. da Rocha Pitta's *Historia da America Portuguesa desde o Anno de 1500 até ao de 1724* (edition of Bahia, 1878).

In the field of literature, there have been acquired partial or complete works of José de Alencar, Olavo Bilac, Machado de Assis, Gonçalves Dias, Fagundes Varella, Casemiro de Abreu, and others.

During the last two years more than six hundred volumes have been added to the Brazilian collection of the library of Duke University.

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## NOTES

The government of Venezuela has finished the publication of the letters of Bolívar in what is apparently a definitive edition. The ten volumes of which it is composed were edited by the well known Venezuelan scholar, Vicente Lecuna and the work is a revision of a

former edition with considerable new material. The title of this monumental work is *Cartas del Libertador corregidos conforme a los Originales; mandadas publicar por el Gobierno de Venezuela presidido por el General J. V. Gómez*. The last volume contains an analytical index and a few additions. This work will be extensively reviewed in the next issue of this REVIEW.

The Yale University Press has published another book by Paul Claudel, the ambassador for France in the United States. This is *The Book of Christopher Columbus* and is written in the form of a lyrical drama in two parts. While the work is a fantastical production it follows in its main elements the general opinions regarding Columbus. The drama has been enacted on the stage in Europe where it has received some adverse criticism. The book is elaborately and fantastically illustrated. It is well written and is interesting. The price of the book, which is excellently printed, is five dollars.

From the Antioch Press at Yellow Springs, Ohio, comes an unique and interesting volume, which reflects credit on the press, namely, John Hubert Cornyn's *The Song of Quétzalcóatl* (1930). This is a translation from the Aztec, and its translator is professor of Aztec language and literature in the national university of Mexico. In his preface, the author says:

This is an Indian Book. The poems in this volume were composed by Indian poets long before the Spanish conquerors set foot on Mexican soil (p. 1).

The translations were made from "recently published Aztec documents". The author asserts (pp. 1-2):

That extensive bodies of pre-conquest Mexican literature, supposed to have perished with the destruction of the Indian libraries, during and after the fall of the Aztec empire, are still in existence.

That this literature . . . affords a remarkable picture of ancient Mexican society.

This literature was not written down because the limited hieroglyphics of the Aztecs did not permit it, but was memorized and handed down from generation to generation. It is still found among the Aztecs, according to Professor Cornyn. Like all Aztec literature, the song is composed in the trochaic meter, which on translation is found to be exactly like the meter of the *Song of Hiawatha*. The

poems are taken from the materials preserved by Sahagun which were published a few years ago by the Mexican government. The song is an epic poem of the wind god Quétzalcóatl, and contains lines of great beauty.

The Florida State Historical Society published in October, 1930, the second volume of Jeannette Thurber Connor's *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*. As in the first volume, published in 1925, the documents (1577-1580) appear in the original Spanish with a page-for-page English translation. Mrs. Connor, who was vice-president of the Florida State Historical Society, died in June, 1927, leaving the volume only partially completed. It was brought to completion by James Alexander Robertson, executive secretary of the society, who also wrote the preface and the introduction. The volume was, however, published under Mrs. Connor's name alone, as a memorial volume to her; for she conceived the series and had planned to continue it. Future volumes of the series will be translated and edited by James Alexander Robertson.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York City, has just issued (1930) a most interesting and valuable work entitled *Peruvian Textiles. Examples of the pre-Incaic Period, with a Chronology of early Peruvian Cultures by Philip Ainsworth Means and an Introduction by Joseph Breck*. In his introduction, Mr. Breck says:

The chief purpose of this book is to make available for students of ornament reproductions of ancient Peruvian textiles selected from the collection of such material in this Museum. . . . The archaeologist too will find this publication of interest, not only because many of the textiles reproduced are of great rarity, but also because the Museum has been privileged to publish here for the first time a survey of Peruvian civilization in the form of a chronological chart, prepared by Philip Ainsworth Means, and embodying the most recent results of this eminent scholar's investigations. Mr. Means, furthermore, has provided the data upon which the descriptions of the textiles selected for illustration have been written.

The textiles themselves have come from mummies buried along the dry west coast of South America. They are generally tapestry woven, although the weavers were familiar with other weaves. The colors of the tapestries are not reproduced, but they are given in the descriptions. The term pre-Spanish Peruvians is used to include the early civilized peoples of the Andean area, by which is to be under-



stood Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, the northwestern part of Argentina, and northern Chile. The chronology, Mr. Means says, is approximate, but the margin of error may be as much as two centuries either way for the earlier periods. Mr. Means has done an immense amount of careful work on his chronology whether other archaeologists agree entirely with his findings or not. This is a valuable book.

In the January-March 1930 issue of its *Boletín* (tomo XCVI, cuaderno 1), the Real Academia de la Historia of Madrid, publishes a study on "Historia de las Vaquerías de Río de la Plata (1555-1750)", by Emilio A. Coní. The issue for April-June (1930, tomo XCVI, cuaderno 2), has a list of "Documentos del Archivo de Indias referentes a Bernardo de Balbuena", by John Van Horne. The list contains 36 items, dating from about 1548-1643, and each item contains many documents. Only a general list is given. Balbuena was abbot of Jamaica and bishop of Porto Rico.

Various recent trade catalogues contain titles of interest to the student of Hispanic America. Some of these are the following:

Maggs Brothers—*Bibliotheca Brasiliensis ou Manuscriptos, Livros antigos e Gravuras sobre o Brasil*. No. 546. 1930.

——— *Bibliotheca Americana*. Part IX. No. 549. This contains a number of titles pertaining to Hispanic America.

Libreria de Porrua Hermanos, of Mexico City—(November, 1930)—A rather unusual list of second-hand Mexican books. The prices appear reasonable.

Otto Lange, Florence—*Americana: Books, Maps, Views*. Cat. No. 59.

Maisonneuve Frères, Paris—*Catalogue des Publications Livres de Fonds et en nombre Histoire, Géographie, Voyages, Archéologie, Mythologie, Religions, Ethnographie et Linguistique de l'Europe, l'Asie, l'Afrique, les Amériques et l'Océanie*.

Karl W. Hiersemann—*Schiffahrt Navigation Obersee-Handel Kolonial Commercial and Colonial Enterprise in America, Asia, etc.* Katalog No. 603. 1930.

Maggs Bros. also announce

Vindel, Francisco: *Manual gráfico-descriptivo del Bibliófilo Hispano-Americano, 1475-1850*. This will have about 4000 reproductions of title pages, woodcuts, etc., and will consist of 10 vols. in 4°. The price per vol. bound in Spanish calf, is set at £2 2 s. The first vol. was ready February 15, 1930.

A revised edition of *Historia del General Arenales, 1770-1831*, by José Evanito Uriburu, ambassador for Argentina in England.

The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the United States has published as No. 93 of its "Trade Promotion Series" an excellent study on *Railways of South America. Part III. Chile*. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1930. Pp. xii, 373. Price \$1.30.) This contains information in many directions and many statistics.

Sr. Rafael Heliodoro Valle, who has long been known in the United States for his bibliographical and library work, has initiated a monthly bibliographical review entitled *Bibliografía Mexicana*. The first number (September, 1930) states that the purpose of the review is to inform Mexico and Mexico's friends of what is being published in Mexico. It is not intended to be critical but simply informative. In the September and October numbers are various bibliographic items of interest, lists of Mexican reviews, and various other lists. In the September issue is a list, for instance, of the books and publications on Mexico which can be obtained at the American Book Store, S.A., Mexico; and a review on Alfonso Laracena's *En el Vertigo de la Revolución Mexicana*, which appeared in the *New York Saturday Review of Literature* for March 30, 1930. The list "Novedades Bibliográficas Mexicanas" which appears in both numbers contains much of interest. The new review gives information that is useful both to bibliographer and to librarian. The annual subscription price in the United States is \$1.50. All correspondence should be directed to Sr. Rafael Heliodoro Valle, calle 25, número 62, Tacubaya, D. F., Mexico. With Sr. Valle are associated Sres. Joaquín Díaz Mercado, Ermilo Abreu Gómez, and Armando Arteaga.

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba, of Havana, has published the following; all issued from the Imprenta "El Siglo XX", in Havana:

Andrade, Roberto: Antonio José de Sucre. 1930. Pp. 40.

García Valdés, Pedro: La Civilización Taíno en Pinar del Rey. 1930. Pp. 87.

Garrigo, Roque E.: Historia documentada de la Conspiración de los Soles y Rayos de Bolívar. 1929. 2 vols. Pp. xxi, 255; xii, 260. This work received the award in the competition for 1927.

Iraizoz y de Villar, Antonio: La Misión diplomática de Enrique Piñeyra. 1930. Pp. 28.

Joaquín Infanta. Homenaje. 1930. Pp. 96.

Juárez Cano, Jorge: Hombres del 51. 1930. Pp. 123.

- López Leiva, Col. Francisco: *El Bandolerismo en Cuba. (Contribución al Estudio de esa Plaga social)*. 1930. Pp. 37.
- Martínez-Moles, Manuel: *Periodismo y Periódicos espirituanos*. 1930. Pp. 96.
- Valle, Adrian de: *Historia documentada de la Conspiración de la gran Legión del Aguila negra*. 1930. Pp. xiv, 189. This won the award in the competition for 1929.
- Wright, Irena A.: *Historia documentada de San Cristobal de la Habana en la primera Mitad del Siglo XVII*. 1930. Pp. viii, 190.

The *Pan American Magazine* publishes in recent issues: September, 1930—"Fools and others of us", by Viola Collins Hogarty; "All the Wealth of Potosí", by Helen Douglass-Irvine; "Some Bibliographies in English dealing with Hispanic America", by A. Curtis Wilgus; "Latin America in Jefferson's University", by M. O. Carpenter; "The Americas lead in Roads"; "American Business and its Latin-American Relations", by Palmer E. Pierce; "The Harvard Council on Hispanic-American Studies", by Henry Grattan Doyle; "Ecuador sees Prosperity ahead", by Gerald Martin; "The Spirit of Growth in Inter-American Trade", by Gardner L. Harding; "First Conference meets to study Pan-American Culture"; "Mexico, the Land of Sports", by Theodore Allan Ediger; "Gabriela Mistral's Visit"; "Hugo Wast, regionalistic Novelist of Argentina", by C. K. Jones; "Hugo Wast, Pater Familiae", by Rowena Galloway.

October—"The Reaction of the American Indian to his European Conquerors", by John P. Harrington; "Portuguese Contemporaries of Columbus in America", by J. de Siqueira Coutinho; "Early Spanish Explorers along the Atlantic Coast of North America", by A. Curtis Wilgus; "Selling Goals for Child Welfare in the Western Hemisphere", by Katherine F. Lenroot; "Coronado, Searcher for the seven Cities of Cibola", by Mary-Gay Lindsay; "The World's future Lumberyard", by William E. Barbour; "Three South American Nations uphold their Constitutions", by Gaston Nerval; "First Conference on Pan American Agriculture covers large Agenda", by M. O. Carpenter; "New Society has comprehensive inter-American program"; "El Dia de la Raza".

November—"The Air Mail in Latin America", by W. Irving Glover; "Press Services tell the Americas about each other", by Joseph L. Jones; "News Exchange brings American Nations closer together", by Charles Stephenson Smith; "Joining the Americas by Air", by Daniel Rochford; "Where the Plane flies in Mexico", by



Helen Lee; "Chile's national Air Line", by Earl K. James; "Achievements in commercial Aviation in Colombia and Ecuador", by George Biedermann; "Airplanes link six South American Nations to Europe via Africa", by D. O. Baudony; "From Weeks on Muleback to Days by Plane in Bolivia"; "Air Lines North and South from Rio"; "The Americas stand together at the sixth International Road Congress", by Wallace Thompson; "The Leguía Régime passes", by J. Fred Rippey; "New Association aids Bibliographical Coöperation", by A. Curtis Wilgus; "Ambassador Morrow praises Mexico in Radio Speech"; "The Poetry of Mexican Folk Songs", by Armando E. Amador.

The *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union publishes materials as follows in recent issues: August—"The Centenary of the Republic of Ecuador", by Dr. Homero Viteri Lafronte; "The Governing Board welcomes the President elect of Brazil"; "The new Minister of Haiti in Washington"; Program of the Inter-American Conference on Agriculture, Forestry, and Animal Industry"; "Mexico's third Highway Congress foresees vast Developments", by Wallace Thompson.

September—"The Inter-American Conference on Agriculture, Forestry, and Animal Industry", by L. S. Rowe; "The new Ambassador of Peru in Washington"; "The new Minister of Venezuela"; "Celebration in Washington of the Uruguayan Centenary"; "Honduran-Guatemalan Boundary Commission; Successful Conclusion of its Work"; "Signing of Parcel-post Convention between Cuba and the United States"; "The sixth Pan American Child Congress", by Katherine F. Lenroot; "A Modern Argentine Newspaper", by José S. Gollán.

October—"The Exposition of Mexican Art", by Count René d'Harnoncourt; "The Bolivarian Centenary", by J. Fred Rippey; "A Botanical Trip in Eastern Peru and Amazonian Brazil", by Albert C. Smith; "A Glimpse of Mexico's rural Schools", by Samuel Guy Inman; "United States Trade with Latin America—Fiscal Year 1920-30", by Matilda Phillips.

November—"The First Inter-American Conference on Agriculture", by José L. Colom; "Pan American Conference on the Regulation of Automotive Traffic"; "Bolivian Music and Musicians", by J. de Siqueira Coutinho; "The Columbia Memorial Library of the Pan American Union", by Charles E. Babcock. The September issue



(Spanish) has also: "Obsequio a la Escuela Estados Unidos en Montevideo"; "Obras de Regadío del Gobierno del Perú", by William Manger; "El Dominio del Mosaico de la Caña de Azúcar en el Camp Cubana", by James A. Faris; "Ingresos, Egresos y Deudas Públicas de los Países Latinoamericanos". November—"Entrelazando las Américas por medio de la Carretera interamericana", by H. H. Rice; "El nuevo Programa educativo de Chile", by Lucy L. W. Wilson; "Libros y Bibliotecas en Mexico"; "El Cinematógrafo parlante".

Among pamphlets published by the Union are the following: "Foreign Trade Series"—*Commerce of Cuba; Venezuela: Dominican Republic; Brazil; Honduras*. "American Nation Series"—*Argentine Republic; Brazil; Chile*. "Commodities of Commerce Series"—*Coffee; Brief Facts about a great Brazilian Industry*. "American City Series"—*Rio de Janeiro—the Fair Capital of Brazil*.

The Hispanic American countries in general and, more especially, those interested in the bibliography of Hispanic America feel the loss of the famous bibliographer, José Toribio Medina. This genial scholar has left behind him for the use of investigators an output that fairly staggers the imagination, so vast is it. THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has been a continual debtor to him.

